

THE BOOK OF THE UNION GOVERNMENT

BY

J. CASTELL HOPKINS, F.S.S., F.R.G.S.

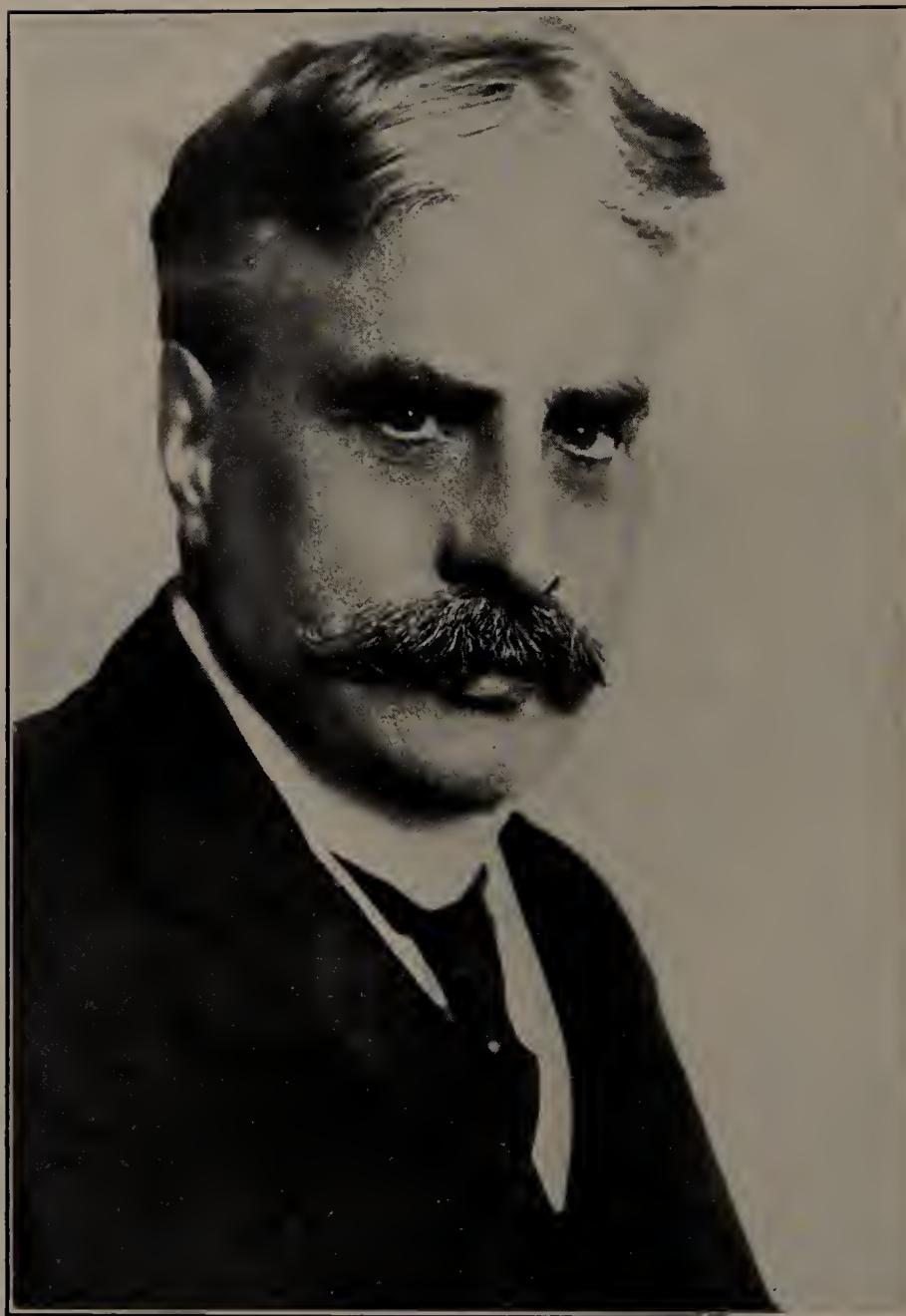


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UNION GOVERNMENT**



THE RT. HON. SIR ROBERT LAIRD BORDEN, P.C., G.C.M.G.,
Prime Minister and Leader of the Union Government Movement

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A Record and Souvenir of 1917

BY

J. CASTELL HOPKINS, F.S.S., F.R.G.S.



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PREFATORY NOTE

This volume is a reprint of Sections in **THE CANADIAN ANNUAL REVIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS**, for 1917, dealing with the evolution in Canadian public thought and life which made a Union Government possible, desirable and, finally, essential. The conditions underlying this event were fundamental to Canada's War aims and place in the Empire; the result immediately influenced the war-action of the Dominion and will affect, for many years, its political affairs, the national and Imperial sentiment of its people, and the material interests and development of the country.

I venture to think that this narrative—together with the study of Quebec and of Canadian War-policy and conditions in 1917, which are recorded in the volume of **THE CANADIAN ANNUAL REVIEW** from which it is taken—will be of substantial interest to many and of special value to those in the next general elections who desire to understand, or explain to others, the vital issues in this strenuous period of Canadian history.

J. CASTELL HOPKINS.

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Minister of Militia and Defence



THE HON. NEWTON W. ROWELL, K.C., M.P.,
President of the King's Privy Council for Canada

THE BOOK OF THE UNION GOVERNMENT

CHAPTER I.

THE MOVEMENT TOWARD UNION

THE formation of a Union Government in Canada during 1917 was the most notable Canadian event of the year—apart from Vimy and the battles at the Front; it was the most interesting and important political development in Canada since the days of Confederation; it was a product of the War, a condition of war success, so far as Canada was concerned, a gleam of inspiration to fighting Canadians abroad; it was a source of encouragement to an embattled British Empire and a proof of Canada's fidelity to high aims and patriotic hopes. The policy of a united or national Government, in face of a great crisis, or in days of a vast war struggle such as this of 1914-17, was a natural, instinctive impulse. It had long been a fact in Britain—though not always in name; it was practically a reality in France except for a small Socialist minority; it became one in New Zealand in 1916 and in Australia during 1917; all parties in South Africa were united—excepting the incorrigible Hertzog following. At the beginning of the War the Liberals of Canada stood instantly and loyally behind the Borden Government; after a time rifts appeared in the co-operation and political differences developed; then came greater problems evolved by the pressure of war—the failure of Recruiting, the situation in Quebec, the Conscription issue and enforcement when passed, the complications of Western thought and policy. At this stage Sir Wilfrid Laurier appeared to have abandoned his co-operative attitude. He refused to join the Government in a Recruiting appeal, he was understood from the first to be opposed to Conscription and finally fought it to the end, he keenly contested the War-time Election Act and refused to support a further extension of the Parliamentary term. While these events were transpiring public opinion was slowly being formed and consolidated.

Sir Robert Borden, as the head of the Government since War began—the only original War Premier left in the world except M. Radislavoff of Bulgaria—was the target of attack, and also the rallying point of action. The Liberal press, in an increasing degree during 1916 and then 1917, denounced him as slow in thought and policy, lacking in all initiative, devoid of personal or political strength. The very keenness and continuous character of this criticism proved the Premier to be a bigger man than his opponents would admit; at the same time the Opposition could not, or did not, suggest anyone who could take his place in party leadership and war-action—except, of course, their own Leader. As a matter of logical argument, if Sir Robert Borden was responsible for all the inevitable faults and weaknesses of a War Government in a nation of pacifists and of unpreparedness, he was also responsible for what was accomplished by that Government—for cabling and pledging Canadian co-operation two days before the War began, for having 30,000 men ready to ship abroad in six weeks, for enlisting 420,000 men and sending 325,000 Overseas in three years, for keeping the industries of Canada going and building up a vast munition business of \$1,000,000,000, for trebling Canada's trade in the years of war, for the establishment of pensions and a great Hospital system, for organizing a Soldiers' land settlement scheme, for large revenues, for taxation of varied interests. The fact was that many others shared with him in these actual accomplishments just as others were responsible for delays and mistakes in his Administration during these stormy years. He was, in fact, a careful, earnest, sincere leader of his party and people in a most difficult period; anxious to do the best for Empire and country, conscious of the greatness of the task before all rulers in these years; knowing much of the difficult and divergent temperaments of the Canadian public and the national danger of going too fast, as well as the international danger of going too slow. That he was a leader in fact as well as name his Cabinet and Parliamentary management showed; that he had lots of political courage was proven by the fact of Conscription and the policy of Alien disfranchisement.

Tributes to Sir Robert Borden also grew with the year and despite criticism he gradually became the one man in whom vital interests could centre and with whom nearly all leaders could work. History, which goes deeper than surface thought, can see the reasons for this and one of them was personality—conciliatory and rarely aggressive, firm rather than arbitrary, persistent rather than vigorous, patient and far-seeing rather than sensational or popular. To E. W.

Thomson, the Canadian correspondent of the Boston *Transcript* the Premier's action regarding General Hughes had proved him a strong man; to observers of Parliamentary life his unfailing good humour and courtesy, knowledge and debating ability, were obvious proofs of personal capacity as was the manner in which he bore the continuous strain of war-work and duty; the St. John *Standard*, in a friendly review of his work on Sept. 1, declared that he possessed "temperament, experience, ability and mastery of the science of government to fit him for the mighty tasks which have fallen to his lot, and no other Canadian is equally fitted to guide the country's destinies to the end of the War and beyond." The Premier's statement in the Commons on July 17 embodied his own feelings in this time of crisis: "During the past three years the responsibilities and burdens imposed upon those to whom is entrusted the administration of public affairs have been greater than can possibly be realized by any one who has not been called upon to grapple with and fulfil them. We have discharged those responsibilities to the best of our ability; we have not spared ourselves in the effort to achieve their just accomplishment. In all our endeavours there has been no regard for any consideration but the conscientious performance of our duty; otherwise we should have been entirely unworthy of the trust reposed in us."

Sir Wilfrid Laurier faced the problems of 1917 without the personal vigour and ambition which middle life still affords; with an inborn and ineradicable hatred of war and its conditions and necessities; with a devotion to Canada as he saw and felt the pulse of its national life which made him greatly fear the current complications of Imperial development and the responsibilities arising from the War and its "vortex of militarism"; with a natural love for his own race which made him understand and appreciate the causes of their aloofness from the War and made him hesitate to force their hands. At the beginning of 1917 he was still a power in the country. Quebec was supposed to be his whenever he called the stakes unless too great a handicap were given Bourassa; the West was full of war-restlessness, aversion to Tariffs, anxiety for the free trade which seemed to mean wider markets and for which the Liberal leader stood; Ontario and the Maritime Provinces had very many to whom the Laurier personality and record of 1896-1911 greatly appealed. Like Sir Robert Borden the Liberal leader, in these later years, was a "safe" man; he too was cautious—much more so than the Premier. He did not like the many changes of the War period and expressed his general attitude in this reference to Imperialism (Commons,

May 18): "I cannot imagine that under present circumstances, so long as there is the disparity of population between the United Kingdom and the dependencies, any system can be organized or planned which will work more satisfactorily than the plan which we now have and upon which the Empire has grown up to its present solidity." There was no similar fear, however, of the United States in his Ottawa interview of Apr. 5 regarding its War decision: "It means that the people of the North American continent will fight shoulder to shoulder in a common cause and from that we may naturally expect closer friendship and sympathies and all the benefits that will flow therefrom." Sir Wilfrid was consistent during this year in opposing Railway nationalization as was the Premier in accepting it; both leaders were inconsistent in the Referendum proposal compared with their 1910 Naval Bill record. As to War-action he issued a strongly worded Message in the January (1917) *Liberal Monthly* which reviewed the war obligations and work of the Allies and declared "it no vain national boast that the Canadian people have far exceeded the expectations laid down at the outset"; and emphasized the need for greater Canadian effort and unity:

Let the young and healthy enlist, and those who cannot enlist will serve the country by work in the fields, in the forest, in the mines, on the sea and in the shops. Every individual in the nation can work; every hour of toil is conducive to victory, and work should be specifically directed to that end. All public construction, unless necessary, and immediately indispensable, should be deferred till more auspicious times; all available funds and labour devoted to the production of munitions, food and war necessities and their prompt conveyance where needed. . . . While we claim, and with just cause claim, to have done much, our efforts pale almost to nothing when compared with the exertions, the almost inconceivable exertions, of Great Britain, of France, of Russia and of Italy. . . . Let us imitate this noble example. Let us here and now sink passions, prejudices, vain and idle recriminations. Let us, when criticism is needed, criticize without bitterness, only by appeals to reason, and above all let us bend all our energies towards making Canada an effective factor in the struggle. The heart of the nation must beat with one accord and one desire.

The Conservative press, at the beginning of 1917, looked askance at the idea of Union or National Government and regarded its advocacy by such Liberal journals as the *Toronto Star* with open suspicion—increased by the continuous attacks of that paper upon the Government's financial policy, the more than vigorous onslaughts of *The Globe* upon Mr Rogers, the vehement Government criticisms of the *Regina Leader* or *Edmonton Bulletin*. The tendency was to ask (1) what could or should a National Government do which the Borden Government had not done; (2) what could such a Government have done up to date which the Borden Government had

not done; (3) how was such a Government, if created, to represent the varied masses, classes, races and interests of the Dominion without the War-election which should be avoided if possible; (4) how could Sir Wilfrid Laurier consistently join such a Government and what would be its value without him; (5) if purely professional and financial men such as Sir T. Shaughnessy, Sir W. Mackenzie or Sir Vincent Meredith were included, as suggested, how could they, or would they, handle such questions as Government ownership of railways? It was pointed out that in the United Kingdom the leaders of both great parties were in favour of coalition and, according to the *Toronto News* of Mar. 28, that in Canada they were not; it was contended that the demand was merely a cry arising out of the discomforts of war conditions or the wishes of an Opposition out of office; the men who at this time commenced to advocate the policy were looked upon with suspicion as to party motives and, of course, the motives of some of them, then and afterwards, were clouded by this ever-present influence; it was urged by such vigorous Conservative journals as the *Winnipeg Telegram* that the Conservative Government had subordinated party to national war-purposes and was, therefore, a National Government; it was claimed that if Sir W. Laurier would not join in such a simple national object as a united appeal for enlistment and war service it would be quite impossible to obtain union upon all the complex issues dividing the two parties. The *Toronto News* of Jan. 26 put the current Conservative sentiment regarding the proposal as follows:

There is no need in this country for such an Administration, as there was in Great Britain, where philosophic Pacifists had to be got rid of before the full weight of the nation could be thrown into the War. . . . Too many genuine patriots have been subject to war-time hysteria. They have been carried away by the crafty whisperings of insinuating politicians, working first for a Liberal Administration, then for a Coalition Cabinet, and lastly for a National Government. . . . It is self-evident that many advocates of a National Government are sincere and high-minded in their intention. It is also true that all those who are indifferent or hostile to the War and to the Empire are against the (Borden) Government. We know, also, that certain powerful corporations which are inimical to the nationalization of public services are active in their advocacy of a National Government. Western Liberals, who cannot follow Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and yet feel strongly on the tariff, will find if they examine themselves closely, that they have more in common with the present progressive Government than with the Opposition, or with any Administration dominated by present Oppositionists.

There was, inevitably, a good deal of partisanship in the matter at all stages. If Sir Robert Borden could be re-placed as leader in a Coalition Cabinet by a colourless Conservative or a leading Liberal

it would obviously be a triumph for the Opposition, and in such a whispering gallery as Ottawa during the Session, or in the political correspondence of the press from Ottawa, there was no way of keeping party feeling out of the subject. Coalition had been, up to this time, almost exclusively a Liberal propaganda so far as the press was concerned, though with support from the Toronto *World* and W. F. Maclean, M.P., from Sir Clifford Sifton and the Manitoba *Free Press*, from the Rev. Dr. C. W. Gordon and other elements not firmly partisan in war matters. The Premier's personal view was favourable but his policy obviously was to await the expression of national opinion and, with attendance at the Imperial Conference looming up for some months, he left the subject for public consideration and the development of some crisis which would make political union imperative and therefore possible. His last words to Parliament before leaving for London (Feb. 7) were significant: "I hope that we may all unite to throw the full strength of this country into the contest. I most earnestly invite the co-operation of gentlemen opposite and the co-operation of all the people in this country, regardless of political opinions, regardless of race or of creed, to make this cause triumphant and to throw into this war the greatest effort of a united people." Public opinion at this stage was absolutely nebulous. Party glasses obscured vision except in a few outstanding cases. J. G. Turriff, M.P. (Lib.) thought a National Government spelled control by the "big interests"; Western Grain Growers wondered how far it would advance or retard freer trade and lower tariff movements; Conservative declarations at party meetings that it was all a scheme of the Liberals to get into office still evoked cheers; those who wanted to "get together" still held vague views as to what form the policy would take—should it be a Coalition of political parties as they stood, or an attempt to combine such apparently opposing interests as the French-Canadians and Orangemen, the Manufacturers and Western agricultural elements in a Union Government for special war-effort, or the bringing of financial, industrial and other leaders into what would be a National as distinct from a political Government?

Liberal politicians continued to attack Sir R. Borden while others were urging some kind of coalition. W. M. German, M.P., at Hamilton (Apr. 10) declared that the Premier had "lamentably failed to carry on a war-time Government, and that he should long since have called a meeting of party leaders and formed a National administration"; while *The Globe* as late as May 5 declared "that the failure of the Borden Administration was due to the absence

of statesmanship and the lack of moral stamina and that in everything that affects the successful prosecution of the War and the welfare of the people the Borden Government has signally failed to express the national mind." Obviously there was a good way to go before Party union under Sir Robert Borden could be achieved! Gradually, however, the call in many Liberal quarters for union of some kind increased and then spread in other directions. The Ottawa *Free Press*, under the editorship of E. Norman Smith, was probably the first conspicuous Liberal advocate of the policy. On July 10, 1915, after arguing the principle and the necessity at length, it had declared that "the formation of a Dominion Coalition Government, under Sir Robert Borden, if it is so desired, would be the truly patriotic thing for Canada's leading statesmen to bring about—patriotic for the Empire and patriotic for Canada."* Then came the 1916 advocacy of the *Toronto Star* and its statement on Jan. 4, 1917: "There should be no party in office at this time. The Prime Minister should not have a political party on his back. The country should have a non-partisan War Administration. If Sir Robert Borden brought that about it would be the end of his troubles and the beginning of his usefulness." The influential *Free Press* of Winnipeg—Liberal and controlled by Sir Clifford Sifton—declared on Jan. 6 that: "A united National Government is important; united action by the whole country is more important. The former is fundamental because it is the only way of effecting the latter." On the other hand official Liberalism was cool and the *Liberal Monthly* for March said: "The Liberal Party must be true to itself; it must look to the future of the Dominion. It has cheerfully given its co-operation to the Administration, as an Opposition in Parliament, but the great problem is yet to come and the Liberal party must keep itself free to deal with that problem. When the battle flags are furled and the troops come marching home—what then?" The *Toronto Star*, though it urged Coalition almost daily during the early months of 1917, yet denounced the Premier and the Government continually for weakness, inefficiency, incapacity; at the same time it declared (May 16) that if Sir Robert would, upon return from England, lead along certain lines of food and price control, put the Militia Act in force and organize ship-building, the country would follow him. But the greatest need (May 18) was a non-partisan Government:

* Mr. Norman Smith told the Author, May 1917, that at this time Sir W. Laurier expressed to him "doubt as to both the wisdom and feasibility of Coalition."

(1) Such a Government would commit, not one party, but both, to the policy adopted, and this would do away with the excuse for inaction, the fear as to what the other party would do; (2) such a Government would not be hobbled by its past record and policies and political debts owed to interests and persons, but, being a special Administration for the period of the War, would be free to deal with all matters in the light of war; (3) such a Government might be criticized and opposed by some newspapers, and supported and defended by others, but this would have to be for reasons, and not as now, in sheer unreason and from partisan prejudice.

Meanwhile, N. W. Rowell, K.C., M.L.A., the Ontario Liberal leader, had continued the earnest war speeches which in 1915 and 1916 made him conspicuous in Canada as a whole. He entered upon consideration of these problems with a basis indicated in an Empire Club address at Toronto on Jan. 18: "It is the chief, moving, outstanding, compelling fact in this great war that the Dominions unhesitatingly say in this struggle for justice, for liberty, for free democracy, that now and for ever we are one and inseparable, Britain and her sons across the sea." He moved slowly in succeeding months toward the ideal of coalition or union. At Drumbo (Feb. 2) he dealt with the sources and hardships of the soldiers: "They are sacrificing everything for Canada. Have they not the right to expect that those who remain at home, leaders and people alike, will make corresponding sacrifices?" His speeches dealt with the progress of democracy and the greatness of Britain's war effort, the need for more Canadian exertion and economy, a greater contribution of men and money and production. On May 8, at a Toronto Liberal meeting, he denounced the Government's C.D.F. scheme, urged the enforcement of the Militia Act, and asked the Government "to either lead the people or get out of the way." At Woodstock on May 13 he was explicit as to recruiting: "The time is too critical not to speak out plainly; we cannot meet the situation any longer by voluntary enlistment," and at North Bay, before the Canadian Club, on May 16, he came out definitely for Coalition of some kind: "Do you see any hope of our moving forward as a united nation, exerting our utmost efforts to win the War, and grappling courageously with our own domestic problems, unless we create a War Government? Do we not need a Government which will command the confidence of the whole people, which will have the moral authority to adopt the measures necessary to meet the present critical situation, and which will move courageously and quickly along the path of duty, irrespective of personal or party consideration?"

While political leaders were rather academically arguing for or against Coalition of some kind the public was discussing the subject much more seriously. The Winnipeg Ministerial Association (Jan. 15)

passed, unanimously, a Resolution demanding a Government "representing as far as possible the geographical divisions, races, classes and main interests of Canada, and the highest administrative and scientific talent of the nation." It was supported by Rev. Dr. S. G. Bland, a vigorous Liberal, and followed by a motion in favour of Conscription—the two very often going together in public expressions of opinion during these months. On Jan. 25 and other dates the *Toronto Star* contained whole pages of telegraphed answers to the question of whether or not the time had arrived for "the Prime Minister to bring into his Cabinet representatives of all parties and of the ablest business men available, thus organizing a truly National Canadian Government." Of the first 304 replies received 211 or 70% were wholly favourable to National Government; of the others 82 were opposed and 11 indecisive. Those concerned were Reeves, Mayors, Presidents of Canadian Clubs and Boards of Trade throughout the Dominion and were thoroughly representative men. From the West a batch of 65 replies was published on Feb. 3 and showed 80% of an affirmative nature. On Jan. 24 the Winnipeg Canadian Club voted unanimously for the following Resolution:

That the Club respectfully urges the Prime Minister: (1) To re-organize the Administration along national lines by including men of recognized organizing capacity wherever they may be found, irrespective of party affiliations or Parliamentary experience; (2) to give adequate representation in such re-organization to all classes of the nation who are contributing to the desired result; (3) following the example of Great Britain to concentrate executive authority in a War Council of few members—such re-organization to be carried out without appeal to the electors.

The Toronto Canadian Club endorsed the same Resolution by a postal vote of 749 to 106. The Winnipeg Board of Trade (Jan. 25) declared in favour of War Government under the lead of Sir R. Borden who "should assign any work directly connected with the prosecution of our share in the War to men whose executive and business capacity is recognized throughout the Dominion; that these men should be chosen solely on account of that capacity and without regard to territorial, racial, religious, political or other ordinary or traditional considerations; that they should constitute a war council and proceed along the same general lines as the corresponding organization in Great Britain, and that re-organization should be carried out without an appeal to the electors." The Rotary Club of Winnipeg followed (Jan. 24) with a Resolution calling for the "entrusting of war-time administration to a broadly national Cabinet made up of men individually qualified for the emergent task, and together representative of all important classes of the

community, irrespective of pre-war party distinctions." The Vancouver Board of Trade (Mar. 2) urged a Coalition of the two Parties and the British Columbia Methodist Conference (May 23) called for a National Government. Meanwhile, a Win-the-War movement had originated in Toronto at a meeting called and presided over by J. M. Godfrey of *Bonne Entente* effort in 1916. It was attended by Sir Douglas Cameron of Winnipeg, Archbishop McNeil of Toronto, S. R. Parsons, Sir Wm. Mulock, Lieut.-Colonels R. W. Leonard and Kelly Evans, Rev. Dr. W. H. Hincks and a number of others. The immediate objects were described as a National Convention at Montreal for the purpose of backing up the Borden, or any other, Government, in the one great purpose of energetic war-action. Lieut.-Col. Lorne Mulloy, Kelly Evans and B. A. Gould—an American author and publicist who had recently become a British subject —were the chief speakers and organizers of the movement. Many Win-the-War meetings were held throughout the country and delegates appointed to go to Montreal; re-organization of the Government or a Coalition was kept out of the speeches and resolutions but not out of the private discussions surrounding the announced objects. The National Unity Convention, as it was finally termed, met at Montreal on May 23-5 with 500 delegates present including Hon. J. A. Mathieson, Premier of P.E. Island, Archbishop Worrell, Halifax, Sir W. Mulock, J. M. Godfrey and Frank Wise, Toronto, Mr. Justice Russell and Chief Justice McLeod, Fredericton. Horace J. Gagne presided with Hon. A. C. Flumerfelt as joint Chairman. Resolutions were passed in favour of a Food Controller, of French and English-Canadian co-operation in War effort, of regulation in the importation and manufacture of luxuries and more ample provision for soldiers and dependants. A Win-the-War and Canadian Unity League was formed with H. J. Gagne, Montreal, as President, and Frank Wise, Toronto, Secretary-Treasurer. The final and chief Resolution was as follows:

That, in order that Canada may do its utmost towards winning the War, it is essential that the country be thoroughly organized along non-partisan lines for all branches of national service, developed through local Boards, so as to ensure:

- (1) The provision of necessary re-inforcements for the Army.
- (2) The maximum production of food, munitions and other necessities.
- (3) The necessary diversion of man-power and woman-power from their pursuits to be carried out with the least possible derangement of agricultural, industrial and economic efficiency.
- (4) The Government to requisition and restrict, when necessary, public utilities, factories, industries or other businesses, and require them to be operated by or for the Government with such a provision for remuneration as the Government shall consider just.

CHAPTER II.

SIR ROBERT BORDEN'S FIRST EFFORTS FOR UNION

THE discussion, so far, had been tentative and preparatory for conditions which far-seeing men felt were inevitable; yet it was lacking in leadership and light upon the basic issues involved. It remained for the Prime Minister, on his return from England and presentation to the country of the imperative need for Conscription and united effort, to give the vital impetus which the somewhat sluggish movement required. No hint was given in the Premier's speech of May 18 as to Coalition; nor was much said about it for some days except as to the difficulties of enforcing Conscription by a party Government with the overhanging prospect, also, of a general election. Then, on May 27, it became suddenly clear that a re-organization of the Government, in order to face the new issues involved, was on the *tapis*. Sir Robert Borden (May 28) asked the Opposition Leader to meet him on the following day and then explained fully the War situation as he had been advised in detail during recent meetings of the Imperial War Cabinet and in the freest possible discussions with British leaders; stated the conclusion he had come to that compulsory military service was essential to carry on Canada's military work and duty and explained the provisions of the proposed Bill; suggested the formation of a Coalition Government and asked the co-operation of Sir Wilfrid Laurier upon the basis that outside of the Prime Minister, each of the two political parties should have an equal representation in the Cabinet; urged the importance of avoiding, if possible, a war-time Election.

The Liberal leader replied* with an expression of regret that he had not been consulted prior to the announcement as to Conscription; with the statement that he "dreaded very serious difficulties" if such a law were passed by the existing Parliament; with advice against holding any Caucus meeting during negotiations and the statement that he would consult Sir Lomer Gouin and other friends. He also intimated that Conscription should not be enforced until approved at a Referendum or general election. At the same time the Premier formulated his proposals in writing as follows: "That

* Narrative given in a letter to the Prime Minister dated June 6 and made public on the 7th.

a Coalition Government should be formed; that the Military Service Bill should be passed; that a pledge should be given not to enforce it until after a general election; and that Parliament should be dissolved and the Coalition Government should seek a mandate from the people.” Further conferences of the leaders followed on June 1st and on the 4th, with the *personnel* of the proposed Government under consideration and no insuperable difficulties anticipated—according to Sir Wilfrid Laurier’s letter of June 6 following. Meanwhile, the whole country was interested and political circles greatly disturbed, perplexed and, in Ottawa, excited. The press teemed with rumours, all manner of public men and prominent personages were represented as possible or impossible Cabinet figures. Amongst Liberal guesses Hon. G. P. Graham, F. F. Pardee and Michael Clark were favourites; amongst non-political names those of Lord Shaughnessy, J. W. Flavelle, Z. A. Lash, Sir Adam Beck, were mentioned; it was generally asserted in Liberal papers that Messrs. Crothers, Cochrane, Hazen, Roche, and Burrell would retire in any serious re-organization. There was a tendency in the Liberal press to support Coalition and the Ottawa correspondent of the *Toronto Globe*, as early as May 27, wrote that Liberals had a “sincere desire to do what is considered best for the national interest in securing stability of government and all possible unity of national action towards winning the War.”

That paper, however, continued its editorial attacks upon the Government and, on May 29, declared that: “Sir Robert Borden has forfeited the confidence of the Canadian people. It is a dangerous experiment to force an extension of the life of the Borden régime by any scheme of reconstruction that does not rest on the consent of the two historic parties in Parliament.” The *Toronto Star* (May 28), however, urged the Premier to call on Sir W. Laurier for help—which he had done on that very day. The Conservative press, some of it grudgingly, swung into line behind the Premier; Sir Wilfrid Laurier and F. F. Pardee, Chief Liberal Whip, went to Montreal on the 30th and consulted Sir Lomer Gouin, Hon. R. Lemieux, Hon. J. L. Décarie, Provincial Secretary, S. Létourneau, M.L.A., Montreal district organizer; on the same day the *Toronto News* correspondent wired that “a Union Government now seems certain and imminent and it is understood will not include Sir Wilfrid Laurier, but have his approval”; on the following day Sir Wilfrid Laurier was in Ottawa again and the press declared the result of the negotiations uncertain. It was generally believed at this stage that Gouin of Quebec, Rowell of Ontario and Murray of

Nova Scotia had been invited to join a Coalition Government. At a Halifax function (May 30) the Premier, Hon. G. H. Murray, declared that this "is a time when the very best should be given the country, when Liberals and Conservatives should lay aside their party feelings and unite for the one great object of presenting a united and unanimous front to the world." A. K. Maclean, M.P., a former member of the Nova Scotia Government, was understood to have charge of negotiations in Nova Scotia and left Ottawa at this time for Halifax; G. E. McCraney, M.P., figured in the later negotiations in the West, F. B. Carvell in New Brunswick, and F. F. Pardee in Quebec and Ontario. Hon. Arthur Meighen was known to have an active place in preliminary and subsequent discussions. On June 2 an Opposition Caucus took place and on the 4th the two leaders held brief conference—a matter of information to Sir Wilfrid on certain points, the Premier stated—with indications along the line of a favourable settlement.

Then something happened. Up to this date, according to Sir Wilfrid's letter of June 6, no impassable or serious divergence existed and only questions affecting *personnel* were under discussion. Yet on the 6th a final conference was held and to quote his own words to the Premier Sir Wilfrid said: "I answered that I had not seen my way clear to join the Government on the terms proposed. I asked you at the same time if Conscription was the only basis, to which you replied in the affirmative." The reason advanced for the refusal was, therefore, Conscription; but that issue was the same on May 28 and June 1 or 4, as it was on the 6th! Difficulties within both parties were obvious. The French-Canadians were almost a unit against the Compulsion Act and any Coalition aimed at its passage and enforcement; Western Liberal leaders, though they did not come into this stage of the discussion, were not, outside of Manitoba, inclined to be favourable; many active Liberals, everywhere, believed at this time that a general election would return Sir Wilfrid to power, solve the Quebec issue, give the West freer trade and Reciprocity, promote recruiting by new and more united effort. Moreover, the continued retention of Hon. R. Rogers in the Cabinet was a Liberal stumbling-block and probably the chief personal difficulty involved. The Premier, also, had no easy task in his own party. Leading Conservative members and men on the back-benches, alike, were suspicious of Liberal aims and policy; resentful of the continuous attacks upon Sir R. Borden himself; angry at the extreme bitterness of the onslaughts upon Mr. Rogers by *The Globe*; scornful as to Quebec and the Laurier or Nationalist

attitude and sceptical as to the West and its free-trade Grain Growers. Sir Edmund Osler, whose political acumen was much respected, was more than doubtful (June 1): "Unless you could get men absolutely to sink their party differences, I don't see how they could possibly work together. It would be almost impossible that this could be." He did not oppose Coalition; he did appreciate the obstacles in the way: "I do not think there is much to be gained by bringing in outsiders—business men without experience in office. They have too much to learn." Others frankly wanted a personally-strengthened Conservative Government to appeal to the country and believed it would win.

A new situation opened up as the result of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's refusal to join a Coalition Government. The letters between the Leaders were made public on June 7, told the story of negotiations concisely and showed clearly that whatever the cause of the breakdown between June 4th and 6th, the present and coming issue was between Borden and Conscription and Laurier and no-Conscription, with a general election as essential to the settlement of the question. As Sir Robert put it in his reply: "I was convinced that compulsory service was necessary, and must be included in the policy of the proposed Coalition. You, on the other hand, decided that you could not accept such a policy, and that you could not join a Government which adopted it." Both leaders met their Parties in caucus and explained the situation, and it looked for the moment as if the Union project were killed. Several things, however, emerged out of what the Liberal press called a muddle, or a mess, and what the Conservative press was inclined to regard as good political strategy on the Premier's part as well as sound patriotism. His followers believed that he had put the Opposition in a difficult position—one which involved the certain disruption of the Liberal party with a loss to the Conservatives of only a few seats in Quebec. Many of them hoped the issue would be left at that and a distinct party gain scored. But Sir Robert Borden was not playing politics; he had entered upon a course which was difficult and perhaps in the end politically dangerous; he intended to see it through for patriotic and war reasons and the courage, patience and persistence which he showed in the next few months fill a conspicuous page in Canada's history. His speech in Caucus (June 7) was a stirring appeal to meet the war-crisis, to realize the sufferings of the soldiers, to support and strengthen the Government which was determined to support the men at the Front. In presenting the Conscription Bill to Parliament on June 11 the Premier was explicit as to the need of unity:



THE HON. SIR W. T. WHITE, M.P.
Minister of Finance



THE RT. HON. SIR GEORGE E. FOSTER, G.C.M.G., M.P.
Minister of Trade and Commerce

It was my strong desire to bring about a union of all parties for the purpose of preventing any such disunion or strife as is apprehended. That effort was an absolutely sincere one, and I do not regret that it was made, although the delay which it occasioned may have given opportunity for increased agitation (in Quebec) and for excitement arising from misunderstanding. I went so far as to agree that this Bill should not become effective until after a general election, in the hope that by this means all apprehension would be allayed, and that there might be a united effort to fulfil the great national purpose of winning this war. What may be necessary or expedient in that regard, I am yet willing to consider, for ever since this war began I have had one constant aim and it was this: to throw the full power and effort of Canada into the scale of right, liberty and justice for the winning of this war, and to maintain the unity of the Canadian people in that effort.

This desire had been the cause of delay in presenting the Bill; this was the reason for that period of waiting which followed the Premier's announcement of May 18 and which the Liberal press so resented. He wanted to have it dealt with by a reasonably united Parliament and not a party-divided one. It soon became clear, after this event, that Sir Robert intended to continue his effort to form a non-party or Union Government; that consultations would continue with the secondary Liberal leaders and groups; that every possible condition would be admitted and a willingness to compromise shown on any point except the fundamental one of war-action. This effort at political unity lasted through the vital debates in Parliament on Conscription; and the Liberal leader's refusal to extend the Parliamentary term. During this stage in the Union Government movement one after another of the active working leaders of Liberalism found it imperative to vote against Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his negative policy or Referendum plan. Each of those votes made Coalition easier and the Premier more determined. To a mere party man, bent upon winning an ensuing Election, these evidences of Opposition disintegration would have been satisfactory; but to the Premier they were only finger-posts pointing the way to union. Meantime the outside opinion of his Conscription policy, which grew in strength day by day during the Session, was not at first hopeful of Coalition except, perhaps, by inference. In Toronto on June 10 a mass-meeting was held with the evident aim of influencing Parliamentary action on Conscription and addressed by Sir W. H. Hearst, Premier of Ontario, and N. W. Rowell, Opposition Leader, by Hon. T. W. McGarry (Cons.) and Michael Clark, M.P. (Lib.), Hon. W. D. McPherson (Cons.), and W. H. Shaw (Lib.), Mayor T. L. Church (Cons.), and G. G. S. Lindsey, K.C. (Lib.) There were others also and the speeches were all for Conscription and War support, but with no reference to

Coalition. At Winnipeg on the 21st 300 Conservatives from all parts of Manitoba gathered in Convention and endorsed the Government policy, and Sir R. Borden, without reference, however, to the question of party union. As, however, Liberal after Liberal in the Commons declared themselves in favour of the Military Service Act, as men like Graham, Pardee, Carvell, Maclean, Guthrie, Buchanan, MacNutt, McCraney, Turriff, separated themselves on this vital issue from their historic party allegiance, the country wakened up to a renewed belief in the practicability and necessity of Coalition in some form. Hugh Guthrie, on the 18th, declared in Parliament for coalition; a Liberal meeting in Treherne, Manitoba, demanded (June 20) a National Government; the *Toronto Star* of June 23rd declared that if a Coalition was impossible Sir Robert Borden should, in any case, "set up a new Government, bringing in new men with new minds and fresh enthusiasms"; the Rev. Dr. S. G. Bland, a vehement, fighting Liberal, declared at Winnipeg (June 24) that "the passionate desire of Canada for a National Government should be met and Sir Robert Borden should re-construct his Government"; a month later F. F. Pardee in the House (July 24) declared that "the affairs of this country to-day demand a National Government, if it can be formed on a proper basis, for the proper administration of those affairs"; J. G. Turriff, on the same day, added the belief that "until the end of the War it would be much better if we had a national Government—a mighty good thing for Canada if the two parties could bury their differences for the time and unite."

At this stage an important incident occurred. The *Manitoba Free Press*, which had been a steady supporter of Coalition, reviewed the situation on July 12 and made this suggestion: "An organized Liberal group, if one were in existence, could receive a proposition if Sir Robert chose to make one, and they could accept it or reject it, taking in each case the responsibility of justifying their action to the people." On the 16th the 26 dissentient Liberals at Ottawa, supporting Conscription, met in caucus for the first time with A. K. Maclean in the chair and constituted themselves a new force in politics and in the events which followed. Meanwhile, the West had decided to discuss this question in a big way and to thresh out its details and issues in a Western Convention which should meet apart from Federal party leaders and Eastern influences. At the time when the call went out (July 6) the Hon. J. A. Calder, the strong man of Saskatchewan Liberalism for many years, Hon. A. B. Hudson, Attorney-General of Manitoba, J. W. Dafoe, Editor of the

Free Press and a vigorous Unionist worker, Hon. A. L. Sifton, Premier of Alberta, and a brother of Sir C. Sifton, were in Ottawa. They discussed matters with Sir Wilfrid Laurier and some of them with the Premier, or his friends. Then came Sir Clifford Sifton's intervention backed up by his Winnipeg journal's continued advocacy of Coalition and Conscription. In a letter to Senator Bostock, Liberal leader in the Senate, this one-time Minister of the Interior in a Laurier Government and a public man whose ability was widely recognized, on July 3 reviewed briefly and forcibly the war-situation and Canada's policy, with the declaration that nothing mattered now except: (1) To put every possible ounce of force into our striking power with men, guns and munitions, in order to help the Allies to win the victory for liberty; (2) to stand by our men at the Front and give them abundant re-inforcements and reserves to admit of rest and recuperation; (3) to maintain the honour of Canada and redeem our pledge to see the War through to the limit of our capacity. He added the hope, shared with many others, that if Sir W. Laurier could not join a Union Government he at least would agree to an extension of Parliament and thus avert a general election. Quebec, it was declared, would be the cause of a refusal and its result involve "no more men, no more money"; if the Opposition Chief were returned to power two-thirds of his followers would be pledged against Conscription and to anything but "a perfunctory and ineffective participation in the War." Then:

(1) There will be no Conscription in Quebec; (2) there will be no recruiting in Quebec; (3) under these circumstances it will be obviously impossible to raise troops in the other portions of Canada. Imagine a Laurier Government trying to raise troops in the other Provinces while Quebec scornfully refuses either to submit to Conscription or to recruit; (4) our regiments at the Front will be left stranded and will dwindle and disappear in effective fighting force; (5) the predominating and controlling element behind Sir Wilfrid Laurier will not allow him to prosecute the War. . . . If anything in this troubled world can be absolutely clear, it is clear to-day that we can grapple with this situation in one way, and in one way only, by the formation of a Union War Government, administered on non-partisan lines, which will straightway appeal for a mandate to the people of Canada and can consistently be supported by every element in the population that is loyal to the cause.

On July 20 a Conference of Ontario Liberal members and leaders and candidates in the coming Elections was held in Toronto and *The Globe* of the next day declared its conclusions to be that winning the War was the first consideration, that under Sir W. Laurier's leadership the next campaign would be fought and won, and there should be no extension of the Parliamentary term, that Coalition with the Borden Government was impracticable and that there

should be another voluntary effort before Conscription was enforced. It was afterwards stated by some of those present that these conclusions were not unanimous, but no exact detail was made public. Meanwhile, the Premier still was holding the gate open to Union and Mr. Rowell, who was universally supposed to be considering the matter, said at Hickson in N. Oxford (July 26) to his constituents: "Strongly as I differ from the manner in which this grave issue of Compulsory service was presented to the country, wise as I believe it would have been to consult with labour, agriculture and other interests vitally affected, before the proposal was submitted to Parliament, firmly as I believe it should have been presented by a National Government rather than by a party government, these considerations would not excuse me for now failing to support a measure which I am convinced is essential to meet the War conditions we are now facing." That Ontario opinion was behind him in this view there was little doubt, and the uncertain attitude of Hon. G. P. Graham, Sir W. Laurier's chief colleague from Ontario, in the negotiations, in Parliament, and in his public speeches, helped to prove this fact. A more assured proof was a meeting of Liberal editors from all parts of the Province in Toronto on July 26 and including T. H. Preston, Brantford *Expositor*; W. J. Taylor, Woodstock *Sentinel-Review*; J. I. McIntosh, Guelph *Mercury*; W. M. O'Beirne, Stratford *Beacon*; J. M. Elson, St. Catharines *Journal*; Hal. B. Donly, Simcoe *Reformer*; J. G. Elliott, Kingston *Whig*; with Wm. Banks, Jr., for the Toronto *Globe*, and J. T. Clark and J. R. Bone for the Toronto *Star*. The following Resolution was passed with one dissentient:

(1) Canada's task is to organize her man-power and resources for the winning of the War, including compulsory military service, conscription of wealth, progressive income tax, increased food production, control of profiteering, nationalization of munition plants, national and personal thrift and economy, etc.

(2) It is essential that our troops be backed up by the needed re-inforcements, and that the Liberal party in Ontario should stand squarely for compulsory military service, and that no candidate should be supported who will not support this.

(3) Sir Robert Borden and his Government have proved themselves unequal to these tasks. No other purely party Government at the present time could deal with them. A war Cabinet and Government representing both parties and the strong forces of the nation working for the winning of the War is, therefore, necessary.

The reference to Sir Robert Borden was resented by *The News* and other Conservative papers and was, in fact, followed on the 27th by a vigorous attack in *The Star* upon the Premier and his Government, while *The Globe* of the same date declared that: "The question of a union Administration cannot be considered apart from its

personnel. Some members of the present Government are impossible because of incompetence or worse. Some Liberals may be named for office who would be equally unacceptable." The attitude of this journal had not, as yet, been favourable to Union Government; even when the general idea became acceptable it did not want Borden leadership and expressed continued hostility to certain members of the Cabinet. Meantime, the *Bonne Entente* movement of 1916, the National Unity plan of earlier in 1917, had developed into a Win-the-War and National Government advocacy with J. M. Godfrey, B. A. Gould, Frank Wise and others as the promoters of a new Convention to be held in Toronto on Aug. 2-3. The call to attend this gathering was signed by prominent men in various centres of the Province, such as A. E. Ames, Col. A. E. Gooderham, R. S. Hudson, Hugh Blain, Col. G. T. Denison, Toronto; C. A. Birge, G. C. Coppley, J. P. Bell, C. R. McCullough, Hamilton; J. C. Norsworthy, Ingersoll, and H. Cockshutt, Brantford; it declared that every resource must be devoted to war-effort and urged that "a national non-partisan Government be established for the vigorous prosecution of the War." The Convention opened on Aug. 2 with J. M. Godfrey (Lib.) in the chair. He urged that both political machines should be "scrapped," declared that Sir Wilfrid Laurier had forfeited his leadership of Canadians and urged a new war-party behind a new National War Government: "I earnestly believe that Sir Robert Borden will form the very best Government he can. Official Liberalism will no doubt be offered a strong representation. The invitation has already been extended." Hon. W. D. McPherson (Lib.) followed in a non-partisan speech. In the evening Hugh Guthrie, M.P., expressed another Liberal opinion as to the Premiership by declaring that no other man than Sir R. Borden should be entrusted with the formation of a National Government. Sir W. H. Hearst and Mr. Rowell also spoke—the latter declaring that he saw "no prospect of any satisfactory solution of our present difficulties apart from the creation of a real National or War-Government." Such a Government must be composed of men who commanded public confidence and it should fairly represent all the strong forces of the nation with, also, a Parliamentary majority. "Such a Government, whenever formed, will have my most cordial support."

The Convention included 800 delegates and Resolutions were passed expressing loyalty to the King, paying tribute to the soldiers, and greeting the Allies. To Gen. Sir Arthur Currie was sent a despatch declaring that: "A great Win-the-War Convention is

demanding that party politics be dropped, that a national, non-partisan, Win-the-War Government be established, that all Win-the-War elements in Canada support such a National Government, and that Conscription be at once employed to re-inforce our brave soldiers battling on the field of honour." The following Resolution, on motion of Col. R. W. Leonard, was unanimously approved: "Whereas, this Convention deeply deplores the holding of a general election during the War—Resolved (1) that the Prime Minister should without delay form a National non-partisan Government, representative of all who demand vigorous prosecution of the War, and in determining upon this its members should disregard previous party affiliation; (2) that immediately upon the formation of such a National non-partisan Government the leader of such Government should introduce a Resolution requesting the extension of the term of Parliament." Associated with the Convention were a large number of women who, on Aug. 3, with 2,000 present at the meeting, passed a Resolution in favour of Conscription and National Government and against a general election—but if it should come pledging opposition to all candidates not in favour of Conscription or following a leader opposed to it. On Aug. 4 Sir Robert Borden received a deputation from the Toronto Convention composed of J. M. Godfrey, C. R. McCullough, W. C. Mikel, K.C., W. R. P. Parker, Mrs. A. E. Gooderham, Mrs. L. A. Hamilton and others and listened to the Resolutions presented by Mr. Godfrey and his associates. To them the Premier made his first public comment upon the personal difficulties of his position and intimated that he was still working for Union:

The responsibilities entailed upon the leader of a Government in a country such as ours, and under the conditions which have prevailed during the past three years, are extremely onerous, more so than could be realized by anyone who has not striven to fulfil them. But however severe, and even overpowering, they must be fulfilled to the full limit of one's strength and capacity. Like the men in the trenches, a Minister, under such conditions, must remain at his post until he is granted an honourable discharge. . . . It has become more and more apparent during recent months that party differences must be sunk and all forces united in the effort to win the War. My endeavours for that end during recent weeks have not been wholly made public, but those who have an intimate knowledge of public affairs during that period are aware that no effort on my part has been wanting. It is appropriate on this occasion to make my fellow-countrymen fully acquainted with my desire and intentions. I hope that in the near future a Government may be formed, based upon a union of all persons, irrespective of party, race and creed, who believe that the struggle which we now wage is for the success of liberty and justice, who realize that it involves the destiny of our Dominion, of this Empire, and even of the world, and who, putting aside all differences of minor significance, are prepared to join in a united



THE HON. J. D. REID, M.P.
Minister of Railways and Canals



THE HON. JAMES A. CALDER, M.P.
Minister of Immigration and Colonization

and determined effort to throw into the conflict the full power and strength of this Dominion.

While these movements and efforts were proceeding the Premier had been quietly working toward the same end. The Liberals generally believed to have been approached included N. W. Rowell, Toronto; Hon. G. H. Murray, Halifax; F. F. Pardee, Sarnia; Hugh Guthrie, Guelph; A. K. Maclean, Halifax; Michael Clark, Red Deer; G. E. McCraney, Saskatoon; H. A. Robson, Winnipeg; and Hon. J. A. Calder, Regina; while F. B. Carvell, Hon. G. P. Graham and others, such as Sir John Eaton, Sir Wm. Hearst, and Lord Shaughnessy, were mentioned more or less seriously. Despite rumours, no further advance was made to Sir W. Laurier. On Aug. 9 the Governor-General summoned a number of prominent men to a conference at Government House. No statement of proceedings was made public but it was announced that besides H.E. the Duke of Devonshire there were present Sir Robert Borden, Sir W. Laurier, Hon. G. P. Graham, Lord Shaughnessy, Sir Lomer Gouin, Archbishop Mathieu of Regina, Sir George Foster and Sir Clifford Sifton. It was an effort to bring together those who might help in such a Coalition as the Premier was working for. That it had some good results was probable; that it would not greatly influence the Quebec leaders was obvious from Sir W. Laurier's determined position and Sir Lomer Gouin's statement in Montreal on Aug. 2: "The attitude of the Province of Quebec is sincere. To us it appears that a Government elected six years ago on a programme containing not one word pertaining to military matters is not a Government which should impose Conscription on Canada to-day. Let us have elections, and if the majority of the Canadian people declare in favour of Conscription I am convinced that our Province, like the others, will submit to the people's will." He added approval of the Laurier attitude since the beginning of the Session. This incident, the passage of Conscription and other legislation, the clear evidence of Quebec's antagonism to the Government's policy or to a Coalition, the reasonable assurance of Ontario's favourable attitude, the coming of a Western Conference which would clear the air in those four Provinces, marked the close of Sir Robert's first efforts for Union Government.

CHAPTER III.

THE WESTERN LIBERAL CONVENTION: A CHECK TO UNIONISM

THE position of the West was a vital one in the formation of the proposed Administration as it also promised to be in a general election. Its political leaders were a vigorous, fighting group of men, second to none in ability and superior to many in concentrated purpose and aggressive beliefs. Allied with Quebec or Sir Wilfrid Laurier against Conscription they would have made the issue more than uncertain; standing aside from both parties they would have held the balance of power against any Government under existing conditions. A Western party was, in fact, mooted at this time and had some strong support; hence the importance of the forthcoming Convention at Winnipeg. It was obvious that pending its conclusions few of the Western leaders would publicly commit themselves—and none had done so except Dr. Michael Clark and Sir Clifford Sifton who was one only in virtue of his past career and present control of the Winnipeg *Free Press*; with Frank Oliver and Hon. C. W. Cross on the other side.

Following his letter to Mr. Bostock, Sir C. Sifton went West with the expectation of (1) ascertaining the trend of feeling toward the Convention, and (2) influencing some, at least, of the leaders for Union Government. At Winnipeg on July 30 he urged upon 400 leading business men at the Canadian Club the need for thinking only of the War and its prosecution, of abandoning criticism and endorsing constructive effort: "What are we going to do, I ask? Sir Robert Borden went to Sir Wilfrid Laurier and proposed a Coalition Government, and Laurier refused. Sir Robert then proposed a Coalition with the English-speaking Liberals, supporters of the War and of Conscription, and so far as I know the offer is still standing." He pointed out the disastrous possibilities of pro-Conscriptionist Liberals and Conservatives fighting each other in the constituencies with anti-Conscriptionist Liberals running in between them, and added: "The Liberal Convention to be held in Winnipeg next week will be one of the most momentous since Confederation, and if that Convention, as I trust it will, should declare for a strong and determined war policy, for a vigorous prosecution of the War and a properly organized fight to carry those objects through, then

they should be in sight of their goal." In Regina on the 31st he stated that: "Sir Robert Borden's proposals are made to the great Liberal party of Canada, in so far as it is composed of men who are for winning the War, to come in and form a Union Government, make their own stipulations as to policy, and put their shoulders under the load." At Moose Jaw (Aug. 1) he urged again a combination of Win-the-War Liberals with Sir R. Borden and the Conservatives. There could be no doubt that the tone and arguments of Sir Clifford's recent letter had considerable weight in the East, as the position long taken by the *Free Press* had in the West, and that these speeches also had popular influence; yet it was clear that political leaders of the moment in the Western Provinces somewhat resented the intervention and did not like being led, or apparently so, by a man out of active public life and who had been of late years so identified with finance and capitalism. They were forming their own opinions and wanted to do it in their own way; the tone of thought expressed a little later at the Convention showed this. It was anticipated in a statement given out by Hon. A. B. Hudson, Attorney-General of Manitoba, on July 30, that: "This is to be a Western Convention, and Western men and women are quite capable of doing their own thinking and their own acting. We will welcome Eastern press representatives, but they are the only Easterners we expect or want to see at any stage."

Much was expected from this gathering. Unionists were curiously hopeful. The *Toronto Globe* (Aug. 1) after urging the "weighty reasons for a National Government," declared that: "It (the Convention) springs from a dissatisfaction with the posture of affairs at Ottawa, and an impulse to break through political barbed-wire entanglements into clear, open ground, with definite leadership and definite objectives." Many of the Western leaders were committed in some measure to Conscription and it was inferred that they would favour Union Government; the *Regina Leader*, though strongly and consistently attacking the Borden Government, had supported the National Government idea for months and as long ago as May 24 had declared it "the national duty of Sir Robert Borden to take immediate steps for the formation of a National Government"; the Hon. W. M. Martin, Premier of Saskatchewan, had stated on July 30 that he had "ever since the War began, favoured a National Government, but the Conservative party, up to a short time ago, never offered to any Liberal in Canada a position in one"; Vancouver and Victoria Liberals in British Columbia had turned down Resolutions supporting Sir W. Laurier or denouncing the

Prime Minister; Hon. T. C. Norris, Premier of Manitoba, and members of his Government such as T. H. Johnson, had supported the idea of Union Government and were earnest believers in War effort to the uttermost. On the other hand the *Grain Growers' Guide*, which represented T. A. Crerar of Winnipeg, J. A. Maharg and Hon. Geo. Langley of Saskatchewan, and the leaders of the United Farmers of Alberta, was strongly opposed to the Borden Government's policy and while favouring (May 30) "a National Government in a National crisis" desired a referendum on Conscription as in Australia; the Edmonton *Bulletin* and Hon. Frank Oliver, its owner, and Hon. C. W. Cross of the Alberta Government, were keenly opposed to Union Government and the latter took a delegation to the Convention supporting that view and Sir W. Laurier as the leader of Canadian Liberalism; there was also a strong under-current of dissatisfaction—especially amongst Manitoba Liberals—with the retention of Hon. R. Rogers in the Borden Government and the possibility of his remaining in a Union Cabinet; several members of the Saskatchewan and British Columbia Governments were inclined to be Laurier supporters. Amongst them all, in every Province, there was comprehension of the fact that in the coming Elections the West, from the Great Lakes to the Pacific, would have 57 representatives instead of 35 and possess one-third of the total membership of the Commons instead of about one-fifth. With it all there was confidence that, united, they could carry the West for the Federal House as they had done in Provincial contests and the feeling that the Foreign vote was safe to go against the Borden Government and Conscription. There was nothing wrong to a politician in this latter point. The votes were there, someone should poll them, they had largely gone Liberal in recent Provincial contests, it was obvious that they would be unlikely to support a war-policy in which the individual felt only the burdens and none of the sentiment of national action.

The meeting of the Convention was preceded by the arrival of a Northern Alberta delegation with banners marked "Laurier for the West," by a private meeting addressed in the Royal Alexandra Hotel by the four Western Premiers and with the optimistic statement by Mr. Oliver of Edmonton that 95% of the delegates were in favour of Sir Wilfrid. The Convention opened on Aug. 7 with about 1,000 delegates present (including about 50 women) and representing the cream of Western Liberalism. The Hon. H. C. Brewster, Premier of British Columbia, called it to order and proposed Hon. T. C. Norris as temporary chairman. The election followed of C. M.

Hamilton, McTaggart, Sask., as permanent Chairman, and Capt. C. B. Reilly of Calgary as Vice-Chairman. The speeches and Resolutions of the first day did not deal very largely with War issues, but developed along lines of Western need or advocacy. Mr. Hamilton, however, declared that "the political forces in eastern Canada have divided themselves into two hostile groups that have apparently become irreconcilable and it is up to the people in the West to help those parties"; while Mr. Premier Norris declared that "the importance of a Win-the-War policy ranks highest and above everything else." A cable of congratulation was, also, sent to Sir Douglas Haig on the achievements of the Canadian Army and pledging re-inforcements. The speeches upon the whole were not partisan and dealt with the questions raised along lines of business-like presentation and brief argument. J. G. Turriff, M.P., and T. A. Crerar, moved an important Resolution declaring that: "As the general progress and prosperity of our people depend in a very large measure upon our agricultural development, and as the obligations assumed by Canada by reason of the War and of our existing railway situation can best be taken care of by increased population and consequent increased production, it is imperative there should be inaugurated without delay a comprehensive scheme of Immigration and Land Settlement; such scheme to be evolved and carried into effect by the co-operation of Federal and Provincial authorities, and to embrace the principle of state assistance in the direction of making available for suitable settlers the vacant land now owned by speculators, railway and land companies, and located in existing well-organized communities within easy distance of railway and marketing facilities." Other Resolutions of the 1st day were as follows:

1. Declaring that the interests of Education in the West demand the transfer to Provincial control of all school lands and of the School Land Endowment Fund.
2. Urging that the Federal Homestead Act be extended to permit women to file a claim to 160 acres of free land and upon fulfilling specified conditions to receive their patent.
3. Stating that the Election laws of Canada should be so amended as to prohibit contributions for election purposes by corporations or officers thereof; to limit the total amount of money spent by or in behalf of any candidate in any election contest; to provide for full publicity of the source of all campaign contributions and for a more speedy and simple procedure for the trial of election petitions.
4. Declaring that the Federal Government should make provision to assist the Provinces in securing the cheapest possible long-term credits for agriculturists by lending money to the Provinces at cost for this purpose on the security of Provincial bonds.

5. Claiming that in view of the high cost of farm machinery as a factor in the production of breadstuffs that the Dominion Government should immediately provide for an inquiry into the different factors which constitute the price to the farmer, with a view to such action as may be possible to bring about reduction.

6. Urging the Federal Government to make use of the elaborate, modern dry-dock and ship-building plant, costing $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions, which for three years had been in existence at Prince Rupert, B.C.

7. Declaring that as a war measure, and with the object of utilizing to the fullest extent the food values within the Dominion, the Federal Government should take possession of all stocks of alcohol and should absolutely prohibit the manufacture, importation, exportation, storage or sale of intoxicating liquors within the Dominion of Canada.

8. Expressing opposition to the granting of all hereditary titles in Canada and to all other titles for other than Naval or Military services.

9. Asking that lands within the Provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba, still ungranted and held by the Dominion Government for the benefit of Canada, should, after July 1, 1917, be held for the benefit of the Province in which they were situated.

10. Urging that all lands, timber, water and minerals in the Peace River district and railway belt of British Columbia be transferred to that Province.

During the day speeches were made on one or more of these issues by Hon. Edward Brown, Winnipeg, Hon. T. D. Pattullo, Victoria, Hon. A. L. Sifton, Hon. H. C. Brewster, Hon. C. R. Mitchell, Edmonton, J. H. Haslam, Regina, Hon. T. H. Johnson and Mrs. Charles Robson of Winnipeg. There was unanimity and speed in business and on three occasions a passing reference to Sir W. Laurier evoked enthusiastic cheers. So obvious was the feeling of the Convention in this respect that Dr. Michael Clark left for home during the day. Various Committees had been appointed and one of 100 members prepared and submitted the various Resolutions. On the 8th the Convention took up the essential War problems which had been in the hearts and minds of every one, which had formed the topic of innumerable conversations, conferences of leaders, and caucuses of followers. The first of the Resolutions—approved by the Committee of 100—was moved by Mr. Premier Sifton and declared that the Convention “feels compelled to place on record its most severe disapproval of the War administration of the Borden Government.” It was declared that the Government had sought from the outset to make a “national life and death struggle the prerogative of one political party”; had exhibited “gross incompetency and inefficiency,” had allowed dissension to overcome leadership in its councils and was “no longer entitled to the confidence of the Canadian people.” No direct reference was made to the Coalition matter. In his speech Mr. Sifton described the Govern-

ment as "inefficient and incompetent" and surrounded by sinister influences. What was termed the Win-the-War Resolution was moved by D. B. Neely, M.P., of Saskatchewan in an eloquent speech of fighting Liberalism. In it he regretted the 1916 extension of the Parliamentary term, described Sir R. Borden's proposal of Coalition as an insult to the Opposition leader and declared that under future Liberal administration the re-inforcements would be kept up for the Front. Capt. Reilly, a returned soldier, seconded the motion and J. G. Turriff then moved an addition to the 2nd Clause in the words, "and by compulsion if possible." Mr. Premier Sifton and Hon. T. H. Johnson declared the Resolution as it stood involved Conscription and the amendment was rejected by a large majority with part of the Manitoba delegation voting in its favour. The Resolution then passed unanimously as follows, amidst a roar of cheers and the singing of the National Anthem:

In this War for the defence of democracy against military despotism, the conditions call for the putting forth by each Allied belligerent of its full power as the only assurance of victory. In times of peril the entire resources of the country, moral and material, man-power and wealth, are justly disposable by the State for the preservation of its national liberties. The imperative duty of the people of Canada to-day in regard to the War is its continued and vigorous prosecution:

(1) By conferring with the British Government for the purpose of definitely ascertaining the scope and character of the services that can best be rendered by Canada in the conduct of the War.

(2) By the maintenance, in unimpaired strength at the Front, of our fighting forces, and the taking of all steps necessary to secure required re-inforcements for this purpose.

(3) By organizing the production of our other contributions to the War, such as food, munitions and other war necessities, upon lines of the greatest efficiency.

(4) By the complete extinction of profiteering in all business having to do with munitions and the necessaries of life, if necessary, by the nationalization of these industries, or by the adaptation of the British system of controlled establishments.

(5) By the recovery for the public treasury of undue profits obtained since the beginning of the War, through the exploitation of the interests of the people, for the present requirements of the State.

(6) By the application of a combined system of sharply graduated taxation upon incomes and excess profits which shall insure that every citizen shall bear his or her full share of the War burden, according to his or her means.

(7) By thoroughly organizing the nation and carrying out this programme by whatever means may be necessary for its accomplishment.

On the following day, upon motion of A. G. McKay, K.C., M.L.A., of Alberta and W. E. Knowles, M.P. of Moose Jaw, Sask., the Convention passed the following important Resolution with enthusiastic approval and few dissentients: "That the Convention places on record its admiration of the life and work of the greatest of all

Canadians, the Rt. Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and of his earnest endeavour to carry out his duty as he sees it in the interest of all Canada respecting our part in the great world struggle. We express the hope that his undoubted ability, his long experience and matchless statesmanship may be utilized in re-uniting the people of Canada in this great crisis, in the successful prosecution of the War and in carrying out the platforms laid down by this Convention." The Premiers of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, British Columbia and Alberta supported this motion. Mr. Norris declared that: "I have been an advocate of a National Government, and I believe the best chance we can have of a National Government in Canada is under the leadership of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. If Sir Wilfrid Laurier recognized that there was a united West desirous of a National Government he would be statesman enough not to ignore it. When Sir Wilfrid is returned to power—and Sir Robert Borden can never be returned—the thing to do is to form a national business Government." Mr. Martin asked why Sir R. Borden had not made a proposition to the Convention and declared that if Sir Wilfrid were returned to power every plank of the Convention would be carried out. Mr. Brewster stated that "the War Resolution, as passed, means Conscription if necessary," and his endorsement of Sir Wilfrid Laurier was "on the assumption that he would carry out that Resolution in its entirety." Mr. Sifton did not "think that any National Government would win the confidence of the people previous to an Election." Then, on motion of T. A. Crerar, the Convention unanimously approved the following Resolution: "That this Convention expresses the hope and hereby declares the desire of its members that in the impending Election the discussion of issues should be kept on a plane free from all appeals to passion and prejudice in matters of race and creed and, further, that whichever party is returned to power the business of the Government of Canada should be carried on by a truly National Government composed of representatives drawn from the different elements and industries of Canada." Mr. Premier Norris supported the motion and Hon. J. A. Calder made his first speech in the Convention along the same lines. Other Resolutions passed were as follows:

1. Urging pensions to widows sufficient to keep them in comfort, increased pay to soldiers, and in the Separation Allowance, so as to do away with the Patriotic Fund collections; the placing of men and officers upon an equal basis in the matter of pensions and the provision of vocational training for all returned soldiers.
2. Approving the principle of public ownership of railways, telegraphs and express systems.



THE HON. T. W. CROTHERS, K.C., M.P.
Minister of Labour



LIEUT.-COLONEL THE HON. C. C. BALLANTYNE, M.P.
Minister of Marine & Fisheries and of the Naval Service

3. Suggesting, as a war measure (but without reference to details) the development of the iron and steel industry on the Pacific Coast as a national enterprise.

4. Favouring a Dominion Bankruptcy law.

5. Urging the re-organization of the Banking system of Canada along democratic lines and popular control by means of (1) a Banking Commission invested with plenary powers in all matters pertaining to banking, currency, coinage and credits, and, in particular, with power to regulate and control (a) the issue of public currency; (b) the coinage of gold and silver; (c) the purchase of bullion produced in Canada; (d) the amount of call money loaned outside of Canada; (e) interlocking directorates; (f) the supervision of credits; (g) the capitalization of banks; (h) the payment of dividends; (i) the relations of subsidiary trust and money-lending concerns to Banks, and (2) the establishment of a National Bank of Canada, as a central reserve institution, upon whose Board of Governors should also sit, amongst others, the members of the Banking Commission.

6. Declaring that the State should own and operate Cold Storage plants throughout the Dominion.

7. Stating that it is the duty of the Government of Canada to stamp out all combinations in restraint of trade or which have the effect of unduly affecting prices and that laws pertaining to the creation and operation of any and all combines and trusts should be revised, extended and strengthened with a Federal Court and Prosecutor responsible for enforcement.

8. War prohibition of the manufacture of high-grade white flour in Canada and action along the lines of tilling, in 1918, every available acre of land.

9. Favouring the immediate commencement and speedy completion of a main Highway across Canada.

10. Opposing the payment of an arbitrated price for the C.N.R.

11. Asking for an increase of 50% in the British preference, free-trade in wheat, flour, etc., free importation of farm implements and machinery, tractors and engines, and mining, milling and other machinery, rough and partly dressed lumber, various fuel oils, cement, fertilizers, fishing lines, etc., staple foods, fruits, etc. (on a reciprocal basis), substantial reductions in general tariff except on luxuries.

The Convention adjourned after references to the work of Hon. A. B. Hudson as Chairman of the Resolutions Committee and of Hon. C. A. Dunning as Secretary. The work of the Convention thus ended was expected to unite Liberalism in the West and to hold in unity three distinct elements: (1) The aggressive natural antagonism of the Delegates to Conservative rule at Ottawa and to the Borden Government as such; (2) the strong loyalty of a large number of Western Liberals to the personality and past career of Sir Wilfrid Laurier; (3) the strenuous desire of a majority of the Delegates to get forward with war-work and re-inforcements for the Front. Like all compromises the War Resolutions were the result of much friction and discussion—chiefly in Committee. It would seem that Manitoba had stood in the main for National Government before an Election and against any recognition of the Laurier leadership and in this attitude was led by Messrs. Norris, Johnson,

Brown and T. A. Crerar; that British Columbia, led by F. C. Wade, K.C. (with Mr. Premier Brewster excepted) and Alberta, led in this matter by Hon. C. W. Cross and A. G. McKay, stood for Laurier and against Conscription; that Saskatchewan was more or less divided with Messrs. Martin and Calder for re-organization at Ottawa and Hon. W. R. Motherwell for Party policy and action. The War and Laurier Resolutions were variously interpreted. According to the *Free Press* Sir Wilfrid on Aug. 9 wired to Hon. Frank Oliver that "War Resolution as understood by report at Ottawa is perfectly satisfactory and is in accord with my views and those of Eastern Liberals." On the other hand Hon. A. B. Hudson of the Manitoba Government, in an interview on the 10th, stated that this Resolution involved Conscription and that the Laurier one did not commit the Convention to his leadership. A little later the Edmonton *Bulletin*—Mr. Oliver's paper—declared on Sept. 3 that the Convention stood "for leadership by the man under whose direction, as the greatest exponent and exemplar of Liberalism in Canada, our country flourished as it never did before."

The comments upon the gathering were many and varied with undoubted disappointment in Unionist ranks and severe criticism in the Conservative press. The *Toronto Star* saw the failure to endorse Union Government as due to the pre-Convention unpopularity of Hon. R. Rogers and Sir C. Sifton; the Winnipeg *Free Press* declared that "the net result of the Convention's labours is to leave the Western Liberals an integral part of the Liberal party of Canada, of which Sir Wilfrid is the leader"—a leader opposed tooth and nail to Conscription; *Le Canada* of Montreal declared that "the Western Liberals will remain Liberal and for them Sir Wilfrid Laurier remains the venerated leader of the Liberal party"; the *Toronto Globe* (Aug. 13) came out more strongly for Union than before and favoured "the immediate formation of a Cabinet representing the very strongest, straightest and most aggressive elements in Canadian life"; the *Winnipeg Tribune* (Ind. Lib.) declared the result due to party politicians striving for office; G. E. McCraney, M.P., stated (Aug. 10) that the "Convention was not anti-Conscription, but anti-Borden and anti-Borden Government, and to that extent accurately reflected the public opinion of the West"; the *Toronto News* (Cons.) described the attitude of Saskatchewan and Alberta as due to the Alien vote; F. C. Wade, K.C., Chairman of the B.C. Delegation, stated frankly (*Vancouver Sun*, Aug. 13) that "the selection of Sir Wilfrid Laurier as leader meant that the Liberals have chosen a man who, as an Imperial statesman has not an equal

in or out of Canada." A side issue of comment was the holding of Austro-German meetings in Saskatchewan and Alberta—Vonda, Gravelburg, East Regina, Kindersley, Kaiser, etc.—and expressions of support to Liberalism as represented by the Convention—in which, by the way, a German settler at Dundurn named E. J. Meilicke, had been prominent.

Open dissatisfaction soon developed and was first expressed by a signed protest of Winnipeg Liberals, calling a public meeting, which included such well-known names as Isaac Pitblado, J. H. Ashdown, Frank O. Fowler, E. D. Martin, J. B. Coyne, Walter H. Trueman, T. A. Crerar, C. N. Bell and R. D. Waugh. *The Grain Growers' Guide* (Aug. 15) declared that "in its war policy and in its endorsement of Laurier the Convention did not represent the best thought and opinion of the Prairie Provinces"; the North Winnipeg delegates met (Aug. 17) and urged the formation at once of a National Government while D. A. Ross, M.L.A., E. A. August, M.L.A., John Graham, M.L.A., and Andrew Graham of Pomeroy—all of Manitoba—wrote expressing disapproval of the Convention in its War and Laurier motions; South Winnipeg Liberals met on Aug. 21 and 2,000 people approved a Resolution in favour of Conscription, repudiating on this account the leadership of Sir W. Laurier and declaring for a National Government—preferably under new leadership and without a War election. At this meeting Mr. Premier Norris expressed himself as being opposed to Laurier leadership under present conditions and stated that his views put before the Resolutions Committee were in favour of a Western Liberal group pledged to no leader: "I have nothing more to say except that our leader having failed us, I am now ready to support Sir Robert Borden in the formation of a National Government pledged to win the War."

CHAPTER IV.

FORMATION OF THE UNION GOVERNMENT

WHATEVER the forces behind the conclusions of the Winnipeg Convention, its attitude marked the highest point of the opposition to Sir Robert Borden and his Union proposals; it showed, also, that the position of Liberalism in the West toward Coalition was divided, with a very strong element against any such policy and with a strong desire for general elections and a party decision. As Eastern Liberalism, also, was divided with vigorous support for the Union Government ideal together with a natural desire in many quarters that such a Government should have a Liberal or non-Conservative head, the issue became complex. Against this latter desire was the feeling of a united Conservative party, outside of Quebec, which was willing to follow Sir Robert in a re-organization of his own Government but was absolutely unwilling to hand over the reins of power to any Liberal leader. The question, therefore, was clearly one of a re-organization such as the Premier had so long urged or a general election fought amid chaotic conditions with a confused and divided Liberalism, a Conservative party without French-Canadian support, a Quebec united behind its own leader, a West with at least one certain vote—the French-Canadians and the naturalized aliens. For a short time following the Convention many Unionist Liberals declared that the Prime Minister would be unable to succeed in his efforts. The *Toronto Star* (Aug. 23) urged him to let someone else try a hand at Union Government and the *Vancouver Sun* suggested F. B. Carvell; the Hon. J. A. Calder visited Ottawa and, according to a Memorandum made public by the *Regina Leader* on Dec. 12 following, endeavoured to organize Liberal weekly newspapers to be published in Ontario and Winnipeg in opposition to the Borden Government; antagonism to the Canadian Northern policy of the Government developed and was pressed in Parliament by Liberals who on this point and some others were re-united; the violence of French-Canadian feelings as to Conscription reached a head and had to be firmly dealt with.

On the other hand public meetings at Regina, Victoria, Vancouver, Brandon, Winnipeg and other Western points called for a Union

non-partisan Government and were led by such representative men as Peter McAra, Regina, and Lieut. M. Malcolm, Liberal M.L.A. for Hanley; Lindley Crease, K.C., and Hon. A. C. Flumerfelt, Victoria; Sir Augustus Nanton and Chief Justice T. G. Mathers, Rev. E. Leslie Pidgeon and John Galt, Winnipeg; Rev. Principal Vance and Nicol Thompson, Vancouver. From Prof. Arch. McMechan of Dalhousie University, Halifax, and the Rev. Dr. E. D. McLaren of Vancouver, came urgent press appeals to support Borden and Union Government. Many other meetings in August developed as the days passed—2,000 women of Vancouver, for instance, demanding National Government with similar meetings of women at Portage La Prairie, Brandon and Winnipeg. Win-the-War meetings were held at Virden and Selkirk, Manitoba; at Vancouver, addressed by E. P. Davis, K.C., and L. G. McPhillips, K.C.; at Victoria, addressed by M. B. Jackson M.L.A. (Lib.) and Chief Justice Hunter and at other points; while Resolutions were passed by such bodies as the Life Underwriters of Canada meeting at Winnipeg. At this juncture came the resignation of Mr. Rogers as Minister of Public Works and the removal of one of the chief reasons given by many Liberals for not supporting the Premier's effort; almost at the same time came the introduction to Parliament of the Military Voters Bill which ensured a large Soldiers' vote for the Government, and on Aug. 20 a gathering at Ottawa of Western Liberal public men, concerned in the Union Government proposals—Sir Clifford Sifton, his brother Hon. A. L. Sifton, Premier of Alberta; Hon. J. A. Calder, Minister of Public Works, Saskatchewan; H. W. Wood, President of the United Farmers of Alberta; T. A. Crerar, Winnipeg, President of the Grain Growers' Grain Co.; and J. G. Turriff, M.P.

With these events and following the Convention there was played at Ottawa a game of politics and patriotism so inter-mixed, so cleverly manipulated, so resourceful and varied in weapon and method as to have no precedent in Canadian history. For months Sir Robert Borden had pressed, with tact and diplomacy and honest earnestness, his project of Union Government, his appeal to the non-partisan sentiment of Parliament and the country at a serious crisis in world affairs; his effort to avert a general election and then, when it became inevitable, to prevent it from being chaotic and unfruitful in result and to make clear, also, the delaying evils of a Referendum on Conscription; his fear that an isolated and hostile Quebec might be established in the midst of Confederation unless the Conscription issue could be taken out of politics. Now, when it became clear that Sir Wilfrid Laurier and many of his followers,

both East and West, wanted a general election, the Premier used every point of political vantage which could come to him as a Party leader. Conciliation enlarged the split in Liberal ranks; he had never been a vehement disputant or shown personal feeling in politics and during this difficult Session he kept the House upon as even a keel as possible. The War-time Franchise Act brought in a large electorate of women voters who would probably be friendly to the Government, and disfranchised a large Western element which was undoubtedly hostile to both Government and war-policy. The attitude taken in presenting an Address to the King, asking for the extension of Parliament and at the same time stating that it would not be pressed unless given large Liberal support, put the onus of a war election upon Sir W. Laurier and his party. Taken altogether the Session, both before and after this last stage in his Union Government efforts, showed the Premier to be a stronger and more able man than his opponents had dreamed of and a more adroit and firmer leader than some of his own followers had believed him to be.

From Aug. 20 onward the negotiations at Ottawa and elsewhere assumed an active and continuous form. Much depended upon Mr. Calder. The position of Hon. A. L. Sifton, representing Alberta and accompanied to Ottawa by H. W. Wood, was known to be favourable, as was that of the Manitoba Government, as a whole, with T. A. Crerar representing the Grain Growers of that Province. But Mr. Calder was at this time the leading Liberal of the West in many respects; he was an expert organizer and had been looked upon as the Opposition's chief Western support in that connection; he was a shrewd and far-seeing politician. On the 22nd it was announced that Messrs. Calder, Sifton, Wood and Crerar had left for the West; on the 23rd they met in Winnipeg and conferred with Mr. Premier Martin and Hon. C. A. Dunning of Saskatchewan and Hon. A. B. Hudson of the Manitoba Government. Mr. Wood issued a statement that "while he favoured the formation of a Union Government, he himself would not be a member of it as he considered there were others with more experience and ability available." The *Toronto Globe* at this point (Aug. 25) interjected its view as follows: "To uphold the honour of the country all parties should be fused in a National Administration to enforce a national policy. Liberals must be concerned with the verdict of history on the part they play at this critical time." Meanwhile the issue was said, according to *The Globe* correspondent at Ottawa (Aug. 27) to turn upon leadership, while the *Winnipeg Free Press* of Aug. 29 declared

that the Western Liberals were only willing to join under Hon. L. P. Duff of the Supreme Court, Ottawa, Chief Justice Sir Wm. Mulock of Ontario, Chief Justice Sir Fred. Haultain of Saskatchewan, Sir George Foster or Sir Adam Beck.

At this juncture, on Aug. 29, the Conservative caucus met at Ottawa with J. E. Armstrong in the chair, and tendered the Prime Minister a demonstration of affection and support. Sir Robert reviewed the negotiations from his first effort to obtain Sir W. Laurier's adhesion to the present proposals for an equal representation of prominent Liberals and Conservatives; stated that three of the Western leaders had wired him from Winnipeg on Aug. 23 that* "they favoured a National Government and the formation of a War Council of six, of which Sir Robert Borden should be one, but they thought a change of leadership essential and suggested four gentlemen, of whom Sir George E. Foster was first named and added the understanding that all these gentlemen would, under another leader, be willing to serve, together with strong Eastern colleagues." Sir Robert went on to say that the question of forming a Union Government, based upon the support of all elements of the population prepared to join in an earnest effort to help in winning the War, was above personal or party consideration. He strongly emphasized his conviction that any question as to the personal status or political fortunes of any individual was utterly insignificant and expressed his absolute willingness to retire altogether, or to serve under Sir George Foster, if the result would be to unite all elements of the population and have them represented in a Union Government. Sir George Foster followed and emphasized the warm friendship and co-operation which had existed between Sir Robert and himself, his appreciation of the immensity of the task that had confronted the Prime Minister since the outbreak of hostilities and of the untiring patience and devotion that had held him to the performance of duties—during which he had acquired vast knowledge of conditions and requirements not only in Canada but Overseas as well. He was willing to serve in any capacity but firmly believed that the full strength of the country would not be available unless Sir R. Borden remained at the head of the Government. Amidst a scene of great enthusiasm the following Resolution was approved:

We, the supporters of Sir Robert Borden's Government in the Parliament of Canada, record our emphatic approval of that Government's policy and achieve-

* Those mentioned were assumed by the press to be Messrs. Sifton, Calder, Crerar and Isaac Pitblado. The other proposed leaders were Sir W. Mulock, F. B. Carvell or Sir Adam Beck.

ments during these three years of war. We endorse the earnest and patient efforts of the Prime Minister to bring about a union of all the war forces of Canada and to give to this Dominion in these days of ever-increasing stress, suffering and peril, the advantage of an Administration which would typify that union and speak to the world the unwavering resolution of our people to see this war through to victory. For the purpose of such union we are, one and all, prepared to make any personal or party sacrifice that the occasion may demand. We record unanimously our profound admiration of the great work and splendid leadership of Sir Robert Borden. We sincerely believe that no other man can discharge with like capacity the tremendous task of Prime Minister during this crisis and that now, of all times, his continuance in the Premiership is indispensable to the nation, and to his support we pledge our unalterable devotion.

This Conservative attitude, coupled with the known aversion of many Conservatives to any Coalition and the aggressive position of many Western Liberals, apart from those who demanded another leader, appeared to kill the project and a large part of the press began to line up for the Elections and to discuss Party politics. But the patient persistence of Sir Robert Borden was not even yet fully appreciated. Elements of popular support, also, were soon shown. The Hon. Edward Brown, Provincial Treasurer, Winnipeg, was outspoken in his view (Aug. 30): "In my mind, Sir Robert Borden is acceptable as leader of a Union Government, and I am not in sympathy with any attempt to drive a hard bargain at this time. Sir Robert was the father of the Military Service Bill and he is the logical leader of a Union Government to carry it out." The women of Winnipeg, in a mass-meeting representing all the city organizations, declared unanimously in favour of a non-partisan National Government, as did Win-the-War meetings at Esquimalt, B.C., Morris and Dauphin, Manitoba—the latter addressed by Rev. E. A. Smith, President of the Manitoba Methodist Conference. Others followed at Mather, Virden, Melfort, Brandon, in Manitoba, Rossland, Vernon, Nelson, in British Columbia, and Regina, Sask.—the latter urging Sir Robert Borden to resume negotiations. This meeting was presided over by J. A. Allan, K.C., and addressed by D. B. Thom, K.C., Principal Stapleford of Regina College, G. H. Barr, L. T. McDonald and Robert Sinton, who were all well-known Liberals. Eight prominent Calgary Liberals on Aug. 31 telegraphed the Premier promising support of many Alberta colleagues; Sir C. H. Tupper, speaking at Chilliwack, B.C. (Sept. 3) declared strongly for Union Government as did Prof. W. F. Osborne in Winnipeg. On the 12th a Delegation from the Canadian Manufacturers' Association waited on Sir Robert Borden and submitted Resolutions of its Executive, pledging support to the enforcement of Conscription

and urging that: "It is essential that the Cabinet be re-organized along lines that will secure the fullest possible measure of national unity and co-operation and that a larger proportion of business men than heretofore should be included."

Meanwhile the War-time Election Act had been introduced (Sept. 6) and was slowly passing through Parliament, while its electoral significance was permeating political thought. It was announced at the same time that Sir Robert intended to re-organize his Cabinet at the close of the Session and a *Globe* despatch from Ottawa on Sept. 14 mentioned Hon. A. L. Sifton, J. G. Turriff, M.P., and Hugh Guthrie as possibilities, while declaring that F. B. Carvell, J. A. Calder, G. H. Murray, N. W. Rowell, T. A. Crerar and others mentioned in the past were now definitely out of it; Parliamentary debates over the War Franchise Bill became vehement and aroused strong party feeling. On the 10th the Prime Minister had replied to an inquiry from E. P. Davis, K.C., a leading Vancouver Liberal, that: "It is both my purpose and my expectation to form a Union Government before the general election, which is now imminent. As you are aware, I have during the past $3\frac{1}{2}$ months used my best endeavours for that purpose which has been publicly announced. . . . If it should prove impossible to form a Union Government before the general election I shall certainly do so if I should be returned to power." By Sept. 24 discussions were in full swing again with Mr. Premier Sifton back in Ottawa after spending some days at Winnipeg; with N. W. Rowell, M.L.A., touring the West and meeting Mr. Calder in Winnipeg, and Hon. H. C. Brewster and Senator Bostock at Regina; with Hon. J. D. Reid taking advice in Toronto and acting for the Premier who was recuperating from a slight illness in the wilds of Labelle County, Quebec.

On the 28th it was stated in the press that Messrs. Sifton, Calder and Crerar of the West had re-considered their position and would come in and on Oct. 2 Messrs. Calder, Carvell, Ballantyne and others were at the Capital. The next day a practical step in reconstruction was taken by the swearing in of Hugh Guthrie, K.C., M.P., as Solicitor-General—a position vacant since Mr. Meighen became Secretary of State—and Lieut.-Col. C. C. Ballantyne as Minister of Public Works in place of Hon. R. Rogers. Col. Ballantyne was a well-known business man, ex-President of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, and a moderate Liberal who had never taken part in politics; Mr. Guthrie was a life-long exponent of Liberalism who had been in Parliament since 1900. Following this event Ontario began to take action. Its politicians had been more or less quiescent on this

issue for a time because the feeling in local Liberalism was well known and it was felt that if the West could be won over there would be no serious difficulty as to this part of the East. A meeting of Conscriptionist-Liberals was held in Toronto on Sept. 24, attended by such representative party men as Hume Cronyn, London; J. L. Counsell, Hamilton; Hal. B. Donly, Simcoe; Thos. Findley, A. E. Ames, H. M. Mowat, K.C., Toronto; A. R. Goldie, Galt; Lieut.-Col. W. M. Gartshore, London; Lloyd Harris and L. M. Waterous, Brantford; R. J. McLaughlin, K.C., Lindsay; H. J. Pettypiece, Forest; D. B. Simpson, K.C., Bowmanville and C. C. L. Wilson, Ingersoll. They discussed the situation and decided to hold a Convention in the near future. Mr. Rowell came again to the front early in October. On the 7th and 8th Messrs. A. L. Sifton, J. A. Calder, T. A. Crerar, W. M. Martin and A. B. Hudson were again in Ottawa while Mr. Premier Brewster was on the way from Victoria. The three Western men first mentioned held a long conference with the Premier on the 8th, while Messrs. Carvell, Pardee, Graham and E. M. Macdonald conferred with Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and a last effort was made to prevent the final rupture; Mr. Rowell also was in the capital, and there was no doubt as to his willingness to join any reasonable combination.

At this stage Sir Wilfrid Laurier took a hand in the matter and paid a visit to Toronto (Oct. 9) where he met 500 party friends and followers—including Mr. Rowell, Hon. G. P. Graham, E. M. Macdonald, F. F. Pardee, C. M. Bowman, M.L.A., A. J. Young, President of the Ontario Reform Association, P. C. Larkin, and others. There had been preceding rumours of Sir Wilfrid's retirement from the leadership in order to facilitate a re-union of his party, but if there was any truth in them this Toronto consultation changed the situation, and the veteran Leader succeeded in winning back or holding a number of those who had differed with him on Conscription—notably Mr. Graham and Mr. Pardee. Wm. Pugsley, E. M. Macdonald, Sydney Fisher, Mackenzie King, D. D. McKenzie and Charles Murphy had stood by him from the first. Since the Winnipeg Convention there had been a swinging of the pendulum to and fro in this respect. Sir Lomer Gouin had publicly aligned himself with his old-time leader and, speaking in Montreal on Aug. 20, had described the Borden Government as "worn-out, moribund and drifting," and declared that: "For my part, I will never consent to contribute to Government by a small group whose authority is expired and who wish to govern the country in spite of the wishes of the people." E. F. B. Johnston, K.C., of Toronto, stated on Sept.

6, after returning from the West, that a National Government "composed of the present Administration, with the addition of a few discontented Liberals, would not be acceptable." Wm. R. Wood, M.L.A., Manitoba, joined Messrs. Cross and Gariepy in Alberta, and Motherwell, Langley and W. F. A. Turgeon in Saskatchewan against Union Government, while the Foster Government in New Brunswick stood aloof and Mr. Premier Murray in Nova Scotia found difficulty in swinging his Government into line. The Hon. Wilfrid Gariepy, Minister of Municipal Affairs in Alberta, expressed his views on Sept. 5 as in favour of a Union Government with Sir R. Borden eliminated. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, in a letter (Aug 21) to Frank Wise, Secretary of the Win-the-War League, Toronto, had defined his position as being a refusal to enter the Borden Government with acceptance of its ready-made policy of Conscription and not a refusal to enter "a National Government whose first duty would have been to discuss and frame a policy adapted to our national situation." Up to the last the influential *Regina Leader* fought Union Government under Sir R. Borden as vigorously as its Liberal colleague in Winnipeg, the *Free Press*, fought for it, or as the Winnipeg *Telegram* (Cons.) fought Sir Clifford Sifton and the *Free Press*. *The Leader* wanted an Election and to get rid of the Borden Government; it stood by the Winnipeg Convention and denounced the War-time franchise vigorously; its Ottawa correspondence of Oct. 8 suggested that if Sir Wilfrid Laurier "should decide that his path of duty lay in stepping aside for an English-speaking Liberal leader, then the Western Liberals would likely withdraw at once from the present negotiations."

Meantime negotiations progressed steadily at Ottawa with Hon. Arthur Meighen as a principal on behalf of the Premier. By Oct. 11th, 19 Liberal politicians—including Hon. A. Turgeon of Saskatchewan, F. B. Carvell of New Brunswick, A. K. Maclean, W. S. Fielding and Hon. G. H. Murray, of Nova Scotia, F. F. Pardee, Ontario, H. C. Brewster of British Columbia, and also Hon. J. W. de B. Farris and others already mentioned—were in Ottawa. Every phase of the complicated question had by this time been threshed out. The old-time Liberals, whose sense of duty and national expediency had overcome their personal loyalty to a respected leader, were upon assured and convinced ground; the Conservative leaders in Saskatchewan and Alberta, who were in doubt as to their political positions—W. B. Willoughby and Edward Michener—were promised Senatorships; Conservative and Liberal Unionists who were, for a time, all at sea as to how conflicting nominations

and seats were to be adjusted in the Elections, had come to some sort of understanding; the many conflicting issues between parties had been thrown into a melting-pot of discussion and, so far as the Unionists were concerned, been moulded into some kind of shape through compromise action or by postponing settlement till after the War; the Premier approached three French-Canadian Liberals with a view to having one of them in the Cabinet. On Oct. 12 an official announcement was made that success had come to the Prime Minister's prolonged efforts and that: "The delays incidental to the formation of a Union Government were no more than might have been anticipated, as the difficulties were immensely greater than those which occur in the formation of a strictly party Government. The conferences which have taken place during the past four days have been characterized by a very earnest and sincere purpose on the part of all concerned to bring about the formation of a Union or National Government." The new Ministers were announced and were to be sworn in on the 13th. The Union Government as finally constituted was as follows:

Department	Minister	Politics
Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs.....	Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Laird Borden.....	Cons.
President of the Privy Council.....	Hon. Newton Wesley Rowell, K.C.....	Lib.
Trade & Commerce.....	Rt. Hon. Sir George Eulas Foster.....	Cons.
Public Works.....	Hon. Frank Bradstreet Carvell.....	Lib.
Interior.....	Hon. Arthur Meighen, K.C.....	Cons.
Railways and Canals.....	Hon. John Dowsley Reid.....	Cons.
Finance.....	Hon. Sir Wm. Thomas White.....	Cons.
Postmaster-General.....	Lieut.-Col. Pierre Edouard Blondin.....	Cons.
Marine and Fisheries and Naval Service.....	Hon. Charles Colquhoun Ballantyne.....	Lib.
Justice.....	Hon. Charles Joseph Doherty, K.C.....	Cons.
Militia and Defence.....	Maj.-Gen. Sydney Chilton Mewburn.....	Lib.
Secretary of State.....	Hon. Martin Burrell.....	Cons.
Labour.....	Hon. Thomas Wilson Crothers, K.C.....	Cons.
Inland Revenue.....	Hon. J. P. Albert Sévigny.....	Cons.
Customs.....	Hon. Arthur Lewis Sifton, K.C.....	Lib.
Agriculture.....	Hon. Thomas Alexander Crerar.....	Lib.
Militia—Overseas.....	Hon. Sir Albert Edward Kemp.....	Cons.
Immigration and Colonization.....	Hon. James Alexander Calder.....	Lib.
Solicitor-General.....	Hon. Hugh Guthrie, K.C.....	Lib.
Without Portfolio.....	Hon. Gideon Decker Robertson.....	Lib.
Without Portfolio.....	Hon. Alexander K. Maclean, K.C.....	Lib.
Without Portfolio.....	Hon. Frank Cochrane.....	Cons.
Without Portfolio.....	Sir James Alexander Lougheed.....	Cons.

The retiring Ministers, as to Departments, were Sir G. H. Perley, Hon. F. Cochrane, Hon. W. J. Roche, Hon. J. D. Hazen. Messrs. Rogers and Patenaude had gone before the re-organization took place. Of the new Ministers Mr. Carvell had long been an outstanding figure in aggressive Liberalism, fearless in criticism and comment, honest in character and political repute; Mr. Crerar was not a

politician of the old type but a man of wide agricultural experience and an effective and able leader in Western public affairs and interests of a special kind; Mr. Calder was a master of political organization and detail, a keen student of Western political thought and a leader of distinct initiative; Mr. Sifton was a silent, capable man who had proved that a good judge could also be a strong politician; General Mewburn was a patriotic soldier with clear organizing ability along military lines and an experience which specially fitted him for his new position; Mr. Rowell stood for social reform and what might be called higher politics—an eloquent, patriotic and forceful public man; Colonel Ballantyne as a manufacturer, business man and financier, had won prominence in the life of Montreal; Mr. Robertson had for some time been a progressive yet moderate representative of Labour in the Senate and Mr. Maclean had been for years a conspicuous figure in the public life of Nova Scotia and in Parliament was the chief Opposition critic in financial matters. Of the older Ministers, the Conservatives who continued in office, Sir George Foster was *doyen* in years and eloquence and experience; Sir Thomas White was a financial leader whose abilities and war policy had won him the respect of the whole country; Mr. Meighen was a man of great executive, rhetorical and administrative ability; Sir James Lougheed had succeeded as a politician in every task he had been given and his leadership of the Senate had been tactful and effective; Mr. Burrell had made an excellent Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Doherty a quiet and industrious Minister of Justice; Sir Edward Kemp did particularly good work in the War Purchasing Commission, Mr. Crothers had never been afraid to express his views on Labour questions and Dr. Reid had been a careful administrator in frequent charge of Railways as well as of his own Department; Colonel Blondin and Mr. Sévigny had passed through various stages of French-Canadian public life and now represented, with typical courtesy and courage, the best thought of their Province.

The press tributes to the Prime Minister upon this successful result of his long and persistent efforts were many. The *Montreal Star* (Oct. 12) declared that "the patience and patriotism of Sir Robert Borden through this prolonged crisis are beyond praise. To them is due its successful result to an extraordinary extent." The *Toronto News* went further in its eulogy: "Sir Robert Borden has apparently achieved the impossible. In a country especially given to furious political faction, he has succeeded in the formation of a strong War Administration representative of all the patriotic elements in the population. For his long patience and final triumph history

will give the Prime Minister a place with Lincoln—that other statesman who, in the face of vicious opposition and heart-breaking difficulties, was able at length to consolidate his nation in the cause of humanity and freedom”; the Ottawa *Journal* pointed out that “to the initiative and patriotism, the persistence and patience of Sir Robert Borden, the achievement of Union Government is primarily due—but Sir Robert could not have accomplished anything had it not been for the unselfishness and public spirit of other Conservative leaders and the patriotism and encouragement of many leading Liberals”; the Saskatoon *Star* thought that “nothing Sir Robert Borden has done in the past, and he has done much, ranks in measure of achievement with this”; the Victoria *Colonist* (Nov. 4) declared that “the Prime Minister, because he knew how to wait, has done a magnificent work in cementing Canadian public opinion” and eulogized his broad-mindedness and toleration. These were Conservative journals and the Liberals commented according to their politics—as Unionists or, as the public soon came to call them, Laurierites. The Toronto *Globe* approved the action of the Liberals in joining the new Government and declared that they represented a people’s movement, not a politician’s; the Winnipeg *Free Press* eulogized its *personnel* as disinterested and capable and believed that it would give “a united nation far-seeing, high-minded and patriotic leadership”; the Edmonton *Bulletin* described the Unionist-Liberal action as “treachery to life-long principles” and *Le Soleil* of Quebec did not believe that they represented Canadian Liberalism; the Moose Jaw *Times* (the Hon. Walter Scott’s paper) expressed keen satisfaction that the Liberals “have had to make no concessions and that they control all the leading portfolios relating to war and to the economic welfare of the country”. On Oct. 22 the members of the Inner or War Cabinet Committees were announced as follows:

War Committee of the Council	Reconstruction and Development Committee
Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Borden (Chairman).	Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Borden (Chairman).
Hon. N. W. Rowell (Vice-Chairman).	Hon. A. K. Maclean (Vice-Chairman).
Maj.-Gen. S. C. Mewburn.	Rt. Hon. Sir George Foster.
Hon. Sir Thomas White.	Hon. Sir Thomas White.
Hon. Charles J. Doherty.	Hon. John D. Reid, M.D.
Lieut.-Col. The Hon. C. C. Ballantyne.	Hon. J. A. Calder.
Hon. F. B. Carvell.	Hon. Arthur Meighen.
Hon. A. L. Sifton.	Hon. T. A. Crerar.
Hon. Sir Edward Kemp.	Hon. Sir James A. Lougheed.
Lieut.-Col. The Hon. P. E. Blondin.	Hon. G. D. Robertson.

The Prime Minister in his statement as to the duties of these Committees stated that the War Committee was intended: “For the

purpose of co-ordinating the efforts of the several Departments of the Government in the prosecution of the War, for ensuring the maximum of effort with the minimum of expenditure and, generally, for the purpose of throwing the full power of Canada into the national endeavour." It would inquire into and report upon the status and maintenance of the military forces of Canada, the enforcement of the Military Service Act, the defence of the Canadian coasts and the patrolling of territorial and adjacent waters, the arrangements for garrisons and outposts in Canada, the training and equipping of troops, the internment of aliens, the prohibition and regulation of imports and exports and the granting of licenses therefor, the arrangements with the Government of the United Kingdom and with the Governments of the Allied nations. The Reconstruction Committee would deal with demobilization, investigate the enormous and varied resources of the Dominion and consider a scheme of immigration and colonization in order to promote further production. Land Settlement would be dealt with together with Transportation problems involved in the Government acquisition of railways and the growing need of water transport; Air Service as a national requirement and problems of revenue, taxation and thrift; so with the condition of Labour and the coming of Women into public affairs and service.

CHAPTER V.

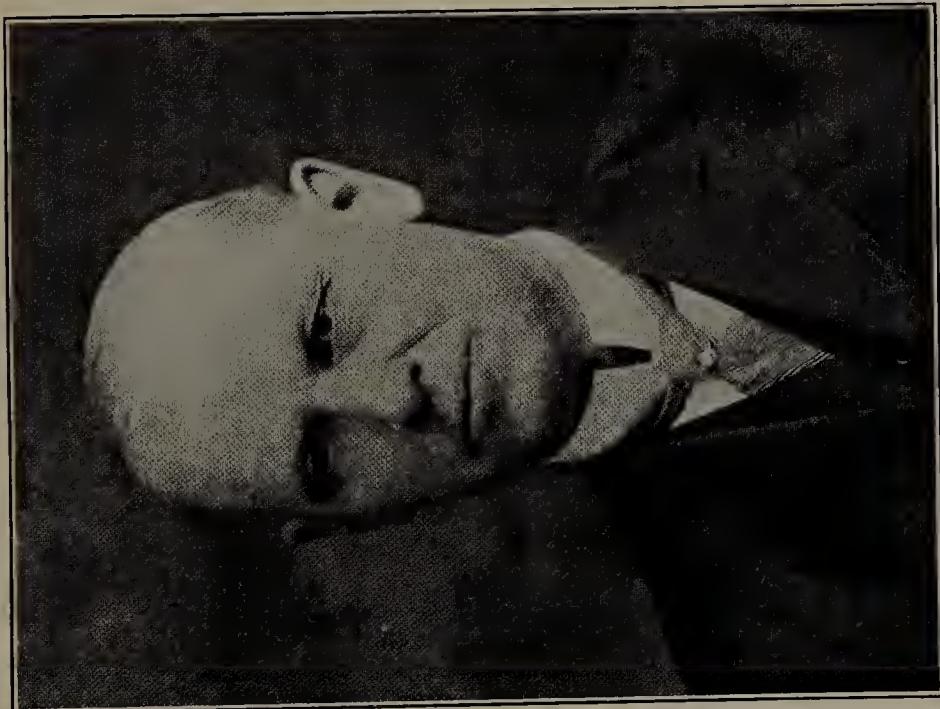
THE UNION GOVERNMENT APPEALS TO THE PEOPLE

THE new Government had only been formed a few days when it issued a statement of war-policy, a programme of principles and practice, which was intended to appeal to the dominant sentiment of the country and to prove that the new non-political dispensation was energetic and intended to be effective. On Oct. 18 the Prime Minister, after consultation with his colleagues, stated that: "The Union Government has been formed with a desire to give representation to all elements of the population supporting the purpose and effort of Canada in the War. Representative men of both political parties are included in its *personnel*, and it is intended forthwith to give to Labour special representation. . . . The lines of policy to be followed chiefly relate to the prosecution of the War and to the consideration and solution of problems arising during its progress or which will supervene upon the conclusion of peace." They were outlined as follows:

1. The vigorous prosecution of the War, the maintenance of Canada's effort by the provision of necessary re-inforcements, the immediate enforcement of the Military Service Act and the most thorough co-operation with the Governments of the United Kingdom and of the other Dominions in all matters relating to the War.
2. Civil Service Reform, with a view to extending the principle of the present Civil Service Act to the outside Service, and thus to abolish patronage and to make appointments, upon the sole standard of merit, with preference to returned soldiers who are duly qualified.
3. The extension of the Franchise to women, with suitable provisions for enabling married women to determine their nationality and to obtain naturalization notwithstanding marriage.
4. Adequate taxation of War Profits and increased taxation of Income as necessitated by the continuance of the War.
5. A strong and progressive policy of Immigration and Colonization, accompanied by suitable provisions to induce settlement upon the land, to encourage increased agricultural production, and to aid in the development of Agricultural resources.
6. Effective arrangements for Demobilization, for the care and vocational training of returned soldiers, for assistance in enabling them to settle upon the land, and for adequate pensions to those who have been disabled and to the dependants of those who have fallen.
7. The development of Transportation facilities, the co-operative management of the various railway systems so as to secure economy in operation, to avoid unnecessary construction and to secure the widest and most effective use of existing



THE HON. FRANK COCHRANE, M.P.
Minister without Portfolio



THE HON. F. B. CARVELL, K.C., M.P.
Minister of Public Works

railway facilities; the encouragement and development of the ship-building industry and the establishment of steamship lines upon both Oceans and upon the Great Lakes; co-operation with the various Provincial Governments for the improvement of highways and the investigation of the possibilities of Air Service for important national purposes.

8. The reduction of public expenditure, the avoidance of waste and the encouragement of thrift.

9. Effective measures to prevent excessive profits, to prohibit hoarding and to prevent combinations for the increase of prices, and thus reduce the cost of living.

10. The encouragement of co-operation among those engaged in agricultural production, with a view to diminishing the cost of production and marketing so that the price paid to the producer may conform more closely to that paid by the consumer.

11. The general development of all the varied resources of Canada and their conservation and utilization to the best advantage of the people with the co-operation and assistance of the State in every reasonable way for that purpose.

12. Adequate consideration of the needs of the industrial population, the maintenance of good relations between employers and employed, and such conditions of employment as will assure suitable standards of living among the labouring classes.

With a view to the development of this policy a truer understanding between East and West would be aimed at, while to better carry out the proposals made a Portfolio of Immigration and Colonization already had been established and special Committees of the Cabinet formed. This announcement was well received and the press, with a few exceptions, praised its theories and hoped for practical results. Following this the Government proceeded to clear up a number of difficult matters which required settlement and in the course of the next month announced: (1) That there would hereafter be no Patronage Lists in any Department of the Government and that it was proposed to make the War Purchasing Commission a general purchasing agency for all the Departments; (2) that in future Outside Services, to which appointments in the past had been recommended by members of the Party in power, would be placed under the Civil Service Commission; (3) that Patronage Lists in the Departments under which contracts had hitherto been awarded were destroyed; (4) that such undertakings as the St. John breakwater or Toronto Harbour works, which were not thought essential to war-policy had been cut out or limited; (5) that a system of control in Cold-storage plants by which the margin of profit between the producer and consumer should be regulated, allowing the plants a profit of 7% on their investments, with a division of further profits through taxes up to 11%, the remainder above that figure going to the Treasury and no sale to produce more than 2 cents profit on the dollar, had been put in operation; (6) that the price of flour was regulated so that millers could make no higher profit than 25 cents a barrel and

food supplies conserved by forbidding the use of grain, etc., in the making of Liquor; (7) that the Separation allowance of soldier dependants had been increased by \$5 a month, or 20 per cent. On Oct. 31 Sir Robert Borden issued a statement pointing out that men prominent in public life, in both political parties, had unselfishly stood aside in order that Union might be achieved; that the members of the present Administration had sunk their party differences, disregarded all minor considerations, and united in an earnest effort for a supreme national purpose; that now they asked the people of Canada, of whatever party allegiance, to pursue the same course, to unite in the same spirit and thus to aid in the same purpose. He therefore urged the people of both parties, in the various ridings, to unite and nominate Union candidates. At the same time the Elections were announced for Dec. 17 with nominations on Nov. 19 and the Yukon election on Jan. 28, 1918. On Nov. 12 the Premier issued a Manifesto to the people of Canada in which he reviewed the recruiting, Conscription and general war policy of his late Government and then dealt with the immediate issue as follows:

The Administration in whose name this appeal is made is not the agent or organ of any group, section or party. There are those among its members who must assume responsibility for the conduct of the war thus far; and such members do not seek to evade that responsibility. There are those also among its members who have no such responsibility. For the Military Service Act all assume the fullest responsibility, as do all for the future conduct of the war and for future measures of policy and acts of administration. It is not suggested that the Government which held office for 6 years is immune from criticism because of the Union Government which has been organized, but only that the war is the first consideration, and that to its energetic and successful prosecution union among the people is as necessary as the coalition of political leaders.

No claim of exceptional patriotism or public virtue is made for those who have united to constitute a coalition Cabinet. But it was necessary to sink differences and overcome prejudices if that object was to be attained. If the object was great enough to justify union and co-operation of political leaders divided by old quarrels and acute differences in feeling and opinion, it is surely great enough to justify the like unity of purpose and endeavour among the electors upon whose decision the fate of the Government and the measures to be taken for the further prosecution of the war depend. In the trenches, Liberals and Conservatives fight and die for a common Canada and a common Empire. No party wall divides the wounded in the hospitals. Nor do those who minister to their wounds and ease their sufferings ask to what party the afflicted belong. Is it too much to expect that the spirit by which the Army lives and triumphs will be as active and as powerful among the people at home when they cast their ballots, and that here as there the great cause for which we contend will unify and inspire the nation?

But there are other reasons why the Union Government should be entrusted with power. It has pledged itself to the extirpation of old abuses and to a wise and

bold policy of constructive reform. The system of patronage in the distribution of contracts and offices, which has prevailed in Canada for generations, has been the root of many political evils. It has fostered local and sectional interests incompatible with the national welfare and injurious to the efficiency of the national service. It has troubled representatives of the people, permitted the ascendancy of organized minorities in the constituencies, and affected the independence of Parliament itself. It may be that these evils should have been overcome long ago. Censure may lie upon successive Governments which have tolerated the system. But inveterate diseases succumb only to heroic treatment—and heroism has not distinguished Canadian parties in dealing with patronage. Generally, Governments have lived long in Canada, and when for many years distribution of patronage has been confined to the party in power there is a natural disposition to adjust the balance when at length the other party succeeds to office.

Once committed to the system, influences are recognized and interests created that are not easily resisted or dislodged. It is believed that a Government derived from both political parties and strengthened by special representation of agriculture and organized labour can act with greater freedom and independence than a Government which held office under the old conditions. Hence the resolution to abolish trading in patronage, to fill public office by merit and not by favouritism, and to establish honest and open competition in awarding contracts and buying supplies. It is not necessary to repeat in full the announcement of policy already made public. In carrying out these policies the Government engages to stop wasteful expenditure and unwise duplication of railways, and to arrange effective co-operation between the public and private railway systems. With the acquisition of the Canadian Northern Railway the State becomes one of the chief carriers of passengers and products. If public management is to be satisfactory, there must be vigour in administration and breadth and courage in outlook. Efficiency must be insured. Consideration of personal or political patronage must be sternly ignored. Accommodation equal to that which the private companies afford must be provided.

Measures must also be taken to insure adequate ocean transportation under national or international regulation if extortionate charges are attempted. For many years in Canada the railway policy was determined not so much by the needs of transportation as by the demands of rival groups of railway builders. As a result we have a great railway mileage, constructed at heavy cost, with long stretches of parallel lines, where a single system could have handled all the traffic, and at lower charges upon a smaller investment of capital. It is believed, however, that Canada will yet develop traffic in excess of present rail facilities, and in the meantime the Government will endeavour to co-ordinate existing services and improve and protect the national railways without injustice to private companies. As old methods of railway building have to be abandoned, so old systems of taxation have to be revised. In order to meet the ever-increasing expenditure for war purposes and also to insure that all shall share in common service and sacrifice, wealth will be conscripted by adequate taxation of war profits and increased taxation of income.

There will be close inquiry into expenditures in order to protect the Treasury against purely local demands, and to eliminate undertakings of purely political origin and object. Permanent Committees of the Cabinet have been established for war and reconstruction. The very difficult and intricate problems inevitably arising out of war conditions are being considered and studied earnestly and attentively with a view to effective action with the least possible delay. Immigration and colonization will receive careful and continuous attention, always with a sympathetic regard for

labour and in full recognition of the necessity for greater production. Thorough and effective co-operation among agricultural producers will be encouraged. The men by whose sacrifice and endurance the free institutions of Canada will be preserved must be re-educated where necessary and re-established on the land or in such other pursuits or vocations as they may desire to follow. The maimed and the broken will be protected; the widow and the orphan will be helped and cherished.

Duty and decency demand that those who are saving democracy shall not find democracy a house of privilege, or a school of poverty and hardship. The franchise will be extended to women, not chiefly in recognition of devoted and capable service in the war, but as a measure of justice too long delayed. If men die, women suffer; if they are wounded, women heal; if they are maimed, women labour. And since there can be no separation in suffering and sacrifice, there should be none in citizenship. The Government will strive to develop and stimulate a common patriotism in all elements of the people and all portions of the Dominion. It inherits no baneful legacies. It cherishes no grievances or animosities. East and West are equal at the Council table, and in the new Parliament all the Provinces will have equal and adequate representation. In the electoral campaign it is greatly to be desired that reticence should be observed in the treatment of all questions in which shoulder the fires of old racial and religious quarrels and contentions. Those who gave their lives for us on the far-away fields of battle cherished the vision of a united Canada. To deny the vision would be treason to their memory.

The Government thoroughly realizes that in this national emergency there is imperative necessity for fulfilment of its policies with the least possible delay. It pledges itself to prosecute the war with ceaseless vigour, to strive for national unity, to administer the public departments with economy and efficiency, to advise measures of taxation which will regard social justice, and to neglect nothing that may be required to sustain the soldiers on service or to comfort those of their households whom they have left behind. Firmly convinced that these objects can best be achieved by a Government representing all parties, classes, creeds and interests, I appeal with confidence on its behalf for the sympathy and support of the Canadian people.

Sir Robert then left for Halifax to open his campaign and during the next month made a succession of earnest appeals to the electorate in many Canadian centres. The first was at a mass-meeting in his home town (Nov. 14) and he put the war situation in plain, clear terms: "In the face of the autocratic military aggression which now seeks to dominate the world no nation can endure unless its people are prepared to fight in its defence. Under the Military Service Act the highest duty of citizenship is demanded of the people. I am entirely confident that they will not shrink from that duty. It is said that this law ought not to be put into operation without a Referendum. I consider it my imperative duty to put the Act in force immediately. That course is being pursued, and it will be unhesitatingly continued. What is the reason? The need for reinforcement is insistent, compelling, imperative. . . . The terrible need for re-inforcements can be met. But, even with the best speed that can be made, we shall barely be in time. Yet it is seriously

proposed that with Canadian Divisions depleted at the Front—and, remember, that a Division when thus depleted ceases to be an effective fighting unit until re-inforced—it is proposed that we are to wait until Parliament is summoned, until a bill for a Referendum is passed, and until the Referendum shall have been held and the verdict of the people pronounced.” The enforcement of military service should not be carried on by a Party Government; hence the need and fact of Union. The Premier declined re-nomination in Halifax, which he had represented for 21 years, in favour of Hon. A. K. Maclean, one of his Liberal colleagues, and the latter followed Sir Robert Borden’s speech with one in which he proclaimed himself still a Liberal, as not condoning the past but, in face of a great emergency, simply forgetting it. Much attention was given to the gravity of the War situation and the fact that Canada’s destiny was at stake in France and Flanders. Senator Lynch Staunton of Hamilton also spoke. With the same colleagues Sir Robert spoke at Sydney, N.S., on the 16th and made a vigorous attack on Sir Wilfrid Laurier, alleging (1) that he had declined to give his best assistance to voluntary recruiting in Canada; (2) that he was responsible for forcing an election in War-time; (3) that the Liberal chieftain’s opposition to the Canadian Northern Bill was a negation of his attitude in 1913.

In proof of the first statement he read a letter from the Canadian Club, Hamilton, dated Feb. 20, 1917, asking Sir Wilfrid, on behalf of the Club’s recruiting Committee, for a brief endorsement of their efforts to arouse new interest in the matter, telling him of the work that had been done, and declaring that a favourable reply would be of “the greatest value.” The reply, dated Feb. 26, acknowledged receipt and added: “I am sorry that I cannot send you at once an affirmative answer. I will look into the matter, but will keep it under advisement.” No other answer was received and, Sir Robert observed, “the matter is still under advisement.” Following this meeting the Premier wrote a vigorous letter to the Conservative Association of Carleton-Victoria as to the proposed running of a candidate against Hon. F. B. Carvell who had been “reluctant to enter the Government as he had to break ties and associations of very long standing and was attached very strongly to his party and to his political associates” and who, therefore, deserved their most loyal support. Any other action he would construe as “absolute want of confidence in himself as leader of the Government.” He also intervened actively in Queen’s-Shelburne on behalf of Hon. W. S. Fielding who was running as a Unionist and wrote to the dissen-

tient Conservatives that: "It is my most earnest hope that, having regard to the greater issues that are involved in this Election, which concerns the future of our country and of the whole Empire, all personal or party antagonism will be laid aside." On Nov. 18 the Premier was back in Ottawa and on the 21st opened his Ontario campaign at Massey Hall, Toronto. J. R. L. Starr, K.C., presided and the other speakers were Hon. N. W. Rowell, Sir W. H. Hearst and Sir Robert Falconer, President of Toronto University. The Premier was emphatic as to enforcement of the Military Service Act: "We intend to see that in every community, and every district, and every Province in Canada, that Act shall be enforced fully, impartially and firmly." It was passed because the compulsory features of the Militia Act did not permit of adequate selection with a view to seeing that men essential in certain public duties, functions or industries, were kept at home.

He explained the general policy of the new Government and proclaimed the sacrifice of party interests and feeling trivial in comparison with the sacrifices of the men at the Front. Mr. Rowell's appeal was an eloquent presentation of a Liberal's view in this war-emergency. He stated at once that the men with him in the Union Government, or supporting it, were the fighting back-bone of Liberalism: "What is the alternative to this Union Government? If you think Canada has done enough, and if you think of quitting the War, you have an alternative, but if you are in favour of supporting the men at the Front by the necessary re-inforcements and legislative measures in order that this war may be carried through to a victorious conclusion, then I say in all sincerity you have no alternative to Union Government." At London on the 22nd Sir Robert was accompanied by Hon. T. A. Crerar and Hon. C. C. Ballantyne, while Mrs. P. D. Crerar, of Hamilton, made an earnest, appealing address to support the boys at the Front—where her sons also were. Meetings followed at St. Mary's and Stratford on the 23rd and at Dundas and Kitchener on the 24th, at Uxbridge and Oshawa on the 26th. Mr. Rowell also spoke at these meetings and the refusal of a hearing to the Prime Minister at Kitchener, the German-Canadian centre, was a much-discussed incident—especially after the City Council on Nov. 26 declined, by 7 to 5, to offer an apology or express regret. Sir Robert was at Windsor on the 27th and received an ovation from 7,000 people when he declared that: "If the men at the Front are not sustained I do not want to remain Prime Minister of Canada." Dunnville and Simcoe were visited by the Premier and Mr. Rowell on the 28th, Milton on the 29th and Millbrook on

the 30th—at the latter place Mrs. H. P. Plumptre of Toronto addressed the audience. Speeches were given at Arnprior and Renfrew on Dec. 1. During this tour the Premier addressed 19 meetings in one week and 25 altogether, with the War as the central topic and the need of re-inforcements as the vital point. On Dec. 3 Sir Robert was at St. John, accompanied by Hon. F. B. Carvell. A mass-meeting of women was addressed and the Premier, as usual, declared there was only one issue and that was the War; Mr. Carvell stated that he had no apologies to make for past criticisms of the Borden Government and none to make for joining the Coalition—“the present issue is so much bigger and so much more important than anything in the past that it is possible to bury political differences with my present leader.” The Premier spoke at St. Stephen and St. Andrews on the 4th; accompanied by Mr. Carvell and Hon. E. N. Rhodes he was at Amherst, N.S., on the 5th. Meetings at Summerside, Point Borden and Charlottetown, P.E.I., followed on the 6th; the Halifax disaster ensued and Sir Robert at once abandoned his campaign and devoted some days to doing what he could, personally and officially, for the stricken city. From Halifax, on Dec. 11, he issued a special Message of regret to the people of British Columbia that he could not go West during this campaign:

Whether Canada shall continue or withdraw her effort in this war, whether our troops shall be supported or abandoned, is the one supreme question. The honour and good name of Canada are vitally and eternally involved. There is no escape from this issue and upon every man and every woman lies a direct and personal responsibility for its determination. Compared with it, the fortunes of individuals and the future of parties shrink into utter insignificance. The men who hold our battle lines wait with intensest interest Canada's answer; so do the men on the other side of 'No Man's Land' who hold the trenches against them. I am supremely confident that British Columbia's answer will be worthy of the spirit which has inspired her people since the commencement of this world-wide tragedy.

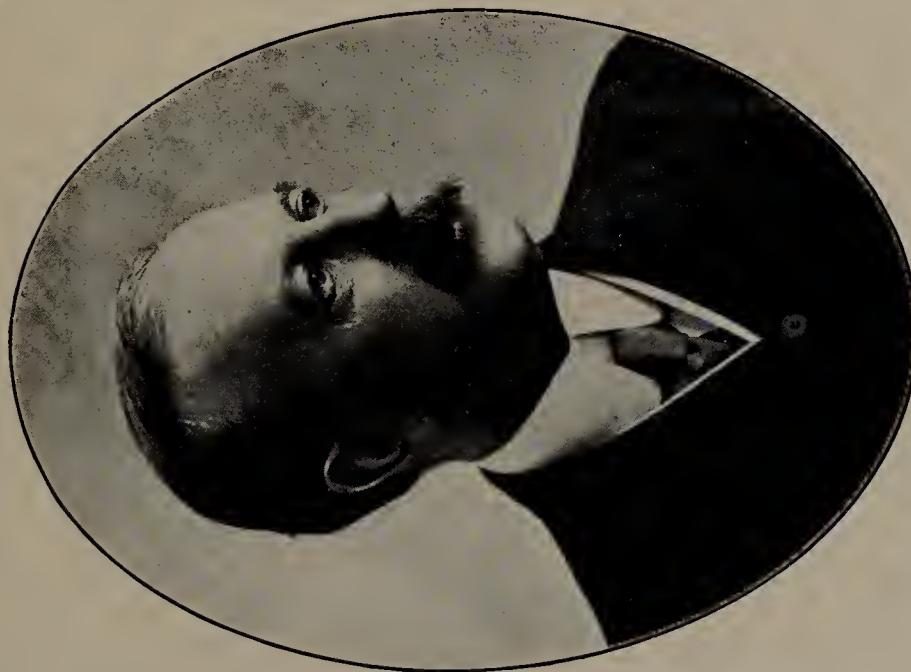
The Premier spoke at Ottawa on Dec. 14 to an enthusiastic gathering which cheered especially his declaration that “you cannot win a war by a Referendum.” He reviewed the Union Government's work as follows: (1) The abolition of the Patronage List; (2) the Civil Service Act applied to the outside as well as the inside service; (3) the War Purchasing Commission made permanent to do all Canadian Government buying; (4) the Income Tax to be on the same basis as in the United States; (5) the War Profits Taxation to be continued; (6) the Packers' profits severely taxed; (7) no article of food to be used for the manufacture of spirituous or intoxicating liquors. Other points in his last speech of the campaign were the declaration that “Russia took a Referendum, and the result

is evident to all"; that in November infantry casualties were ten times greater than enlistments; that "it is not a two-party Government, it is a no-party Government, and we are sitting around the Council Board, not as Liberals and Conservatives, but as Canadians"; that the men at the Front "will keep faith with their fallen comrades—will you keep faith with those who have fallen and those who still live?" In all these speeches the Premier* made little reference to Quebec, to racial or religious issues or conditions, or to anything except what he considered the matter in hand—the return of a Government pledged to enforce Conscription and carry on for Canada in the War. Even a meeting billed for Montreal was cancelled in order to avoid any chance of violence or hostility being aroused. To him, on Dec. 15, came a cable from the Australian Premier—Rt. Hon. W. M. Hughes: "I earnestly hope that the electors of the Dominion will give you and your Government a triumphant majority in order that Canada may put forth her full strength in this mighty struggle between liberty and despotism."

* The Private Secretary of a Prime Minister in such a campaign as this has an arduous and responsible position. In October A. E. Blount, who had been with Sir R. Borden for years, resigned to accept the Clerkship of the Senate, and George W. Yates, an experienced journalist in the past and Secretary to Hon. Mr. Cochrane, was appointed in his place.



THE HON. A. K. MACLEAN, K.C., M.P.
Minister without Portfolio



THE HON. MARTIN BURRELL, M.P.
Secretary of State and Minister of Mines

CHAPTER VI.

LIBERAL POLICY AND SIR WILFRID LAURIER'S CAMPAIGN

SIR WILFRID LAURIER had a difficult situation to meet in this Election; there was obvious disorganization in his old-time Party ranks and a continuous record of veteran followers, East and West, seceding to the other side; there was a Liberal press almost entirely opposed to him, outside of one Province, and a hostile combination led by the *Toronto Globe* was hard indeed for a Liberal leader to bear with patience; there were unpleasant conditions in Quebec to control, if possible, and to defend or explain in other parts of Canada. With it all the Liberal chieftain maintained his hopeful outlook, fought earnestly for his cherished convictions of a life-time, believed that he had a chance to win, and was convinced that if he did so the personal qualities and influence which had settled the Manitoba problem of 1896 could adjust those of 1917. If he did not win, his supporters, combined with the Liberals behind the Unionist Government, might be strong enough to revolutionize political conditions when the War was over. As a matter of fact, his personality was the element in the Opposition most dangerous to the Union Government cause. After that there was the obvious assurance of one large Province being behind him almost unanimously; then there was the knowledge of all political leaders as to the past strength and vitality of Party feeling in Canada and the doubt as to whether any dissentient colleagues could sufficiently undermine the instinctive partisan loyalty to their Leader of large masses of the people; there was the certainty of much natural discontent as to Conscription all through Canada and the belief that many Conservatives as well as Liberals were dissatisfied with the past record of the Borden Government.

In all his speeches of this year Sir Wilfrid was emphatic in assertion that (1) Canada was in the War to the end, and (2) that whatever the verdict of the Elections, all Canadians would submit to the decision and the law. In *The Canadian Liberal Monthly*—the official Party journal—for January, 1917, he had published an earnest analysis of what Canada had done and an appeal to Canadians to do still more: "There is every probability that we are still far from the end, and so long as more has to be done, we have not done

enough. Only the all-possible will suffice. Industry should be organized with the sole view to victory, with all idea of profit carefully eliminated. For let it ever be remembered that industry is public service. Let the young and healthy enlist, and those who cannot enlist will serve the country by work in the fields, in the forest, in the mines, on the sea and in the shops. Every individual in the nation can work; every hour of toil is conducive to victory, and work should be specifically directed to that end; all available funds and labour devoted to the production of munitions, food and war necessities and their prompt conveyance where needed." A warm tribute was paid to the fallen: "The rest of us owe it to them that we also make sacrifice, sacrifice of feelings, of prejudice, of comfort, of leisure, of gains. . . . Let us here and now sink passions, prejudices, vain and idle recriminations. Let us, when criticism is needed, criticize without bitterness, only by appeals to reason, and above all let us bend all our energies towards making Canada an effective factor in the struggle. The heart of the nation must beat with one accord and one desire." This journal for August defined his policy as follows: "(1) That Canada will remain in the War to the end; that (2) Canada shall, by a systematic and thorough national war organization make a supreme effort to secure by voluntary enlistment the necessary number of recruits; that (3) if this national war organization fails to secure the required number of soldiers by voluntary enlistment the electors of Canada will be asked to vote on a Conscription Referendum; that (4) if the result of the Referendum favours Conscription Sir Wilfrid Laurier pledges his word that the verdict will be accepted in every part of Canada, even in the Province of Quebec; that (5) if the result of the Referendum is against Conscription, then the national war organization will be continued and vigorously prosecuted and every effort made to secure by voluntary enlistment the number of soldiers needed; that (6) information will be secured from the British authorities as to which is most needed from Canada, men or food." To Frank Wise, Secretary of the Win-the-War League, Toronto, Sir Wilfrid wrote on Aug. 21, in reply to an inquiry as to his war position, that the Borden Government had hopelessly blundered in not long ago ascertaining the character of war service which Canada could best render; that a general election was imperative because (1) the Western Provinces were entitled to 22 more members by Census returns and (2) because there were 24 constituencies unrepresented. He defined the duty of the Majority leader in the next Parliament as follows:

(1) To confer immediately with Great Britain and her Allies, with a view to ascertaining how, and to what extent, the participation can be utilized to the greatest advantage in the prosecution of the War, regard being had, on the one hand, to the necessities of the Allies for men, and, on the other hand, to our population, resources, industries, geographical and other essential considerations.

(2) To bring into being a Government composed, as far as possible, of the ablest men in all classes, whose immediate task would be the effective and non-partisan organization of the whole nation on the lines determined upon.

(3) To organize a vigorous and compact system of voluntary enlistment, conceived and carried out on strictly non-partisan and broadly national methods.

(4) To devise and apply ways and means so that the full duty of Canada be generously performed toward our returned soldiers and their dependants; the wealth of Canada compelled to contribute its just and proper share of our burdens; and the mass of the people efficiently safeguarded from the greed of war profiteers.

The League in reply asked Sir Wilfrid: "(1) To place a definite time limit on the period you would allow for recruiting; (2) to state that if voluntary effort failed to produce the necessary re-inforcements, you would resort to Conscription." No answer was given to this. Meanwhile the Quebec issue had developed and attracted wide attention with an under-current in Canada—even in the Liberal party—hostile to Sir Wilfrid Laurier as the natural leader of French Canadians. Many followers of the Liberal leader in English-speaking Canada claimed that if he had come out in favour of Conscription his native Province would have gone over to Bourassa and the Nationalists; that the benefit of his moderate patriotic leadership would thus have been lost to Canada; that the end would have been disaster and disunion. In the Commons on Aug. 1 Sir Wilfrid dealt with Sir Clifford Sifton's statements in this connection: "Neither on this occasion, nor any occasion in my public life, did I ever take an attitude in deference to one Province alone. The politics which I have opposed were not opposed from the point of view of one Province but from the point of view of Liberal principles and with respect to all the Provinces of Canada and irrespective of race or creed. This is my position to-day. . . . I am in this War to the end, but I am in this War not upon compulsion, but upon the voluntary principle of enlistment." There was talk in these months of Sir Wilfrid retiring in favour of someone who could lead a united party in the Elections and there was evidence of his desire to make way if any good purpose could be served. But the Western Convention indirectly endorsed his leadership; so with directness did an Ontario Conference held in Toronto on July 20, at the call of F. F. Pardee, Chief Liberal Whip.*

* NOTE.—*La Soliel*, of Quebec, on Oct. 6th declared this to be a fact, and reported Sir Wilfrid as so saying.

At this latter meeting of Ontario Federal members (Liberal) and candidates W. A. Charlton, M.P., presided and Hon. G. P. Graham delivered an address, stating that the dissentient or Conscriptionist Liberals had acted conscientiously on that issue. An official statement of proceedings (*Globe*, July 21) claimed the purpose of the meeting to be a frank and free interchange of opinion, stated that this was carried out with cordiality, that Mr. Graham took the census of the gathering as to the unanimous opinions reached, and that these were summarized and unanimously endorsed, as follows: "(1) That the putting forth of Canada's whole effort towards winning the War is the first consideration of party policy and party effort; (2) that the patriotism, integrity of purpose and statesmanship of Sir Wilfrid Laurier are unquestioned, and that under his Dominion leadership the coming campaign will be fought and won; (3) that there should be no extension of the present Parliament, but that an appeal should be made to the people for a new Parliament and a new Administration; (4) that the War administration of the Borden Government does not warrant any further trust by the people of Canada; (5) that at the present time and under the ægis of the present Government a Coalition or Union Government of Liberals and Conservatives is impracticable and undesirable; (6) that before attempting an enforcement of the present Conscription measure and having regard to all national conditions, there should be a united and whole-hearted effort under the voluntary system." As there were some Liberals present who were supposed to be favourable to Union Government, and were known Conscriptionists—Pardee, Ross, Guthrie, for instance—these announced conclusions were disputed and *The Globe* of July 24 stated that "some who attended have made the definite statement that they declared themselves frankly and positively in favour of Conscription." Mr. Rowell was not present.

There followed the decision and action of the Liberal leader as to Extension of Parliament and Union Government; his consultation with Liberal leaders and supporters in Montreal on Oct. 1, with Sir Lomer Gouin, Hon. S. A. Fisher, Senators F. L. Beique, J. P. B. Casgrain, J. M. Wilson and R. Dandurand, Hon. R. Lemieux, Hon. W. Mitchell and many Liberal candidates of the Province, present at a Reform Club luncheon; the rumours of his retirement stated in such papers as *The Globe* and the *Ottawa Citizen*; his visit to Toronto on Oct. 9-10 and consultation with leading Ontario Liberals, a Reception at the King Edward attended by 1,200 of his admirers and followers with another for women which, also, was largely

attended. Nothing further was heard of retirement and on Nov. 4 Sir Wilfrid issued his Election Address to the Canadian people. It was a long and elaborate document. Of the Union Government he said: "Six members of the Liberal party, some of them close personal friends, have consented to become members of the Administration, and in the programme which they intend to follow, no trace is to be found that the Liberal members of the Administration have succeeded in influencing their colleagues to the adoption of measures which they deemed essential not only to win the War, but for the welfare of the country at all times." The hope of increased Immigration after the War was, he asserted, greatly impaired by the War-time Election Act, which had broken faith with naturalized Canadian citizens; the C.N.R. arrangement was denounced as paying for a stock property which the Government experts had declared absolutely without value; the high cost of living was said to be due to excessive profits, hoardings and combinations which the Government had not checked, and that "no measure to reduce the cost could be effective unless and until the tariff is reformed and its pressure removed from commodities" affected by the above causes. The War-time Election Act was strongly denounced:

A blot upon every instinct of justice, honesty and fair play. It takes away the franchise from certain denominations whose members from ancient times in English history have been exempt from military service, and who in Great Britain never were, and are not now, denied their rights of citizenship. It takes away the franchise from men whom we invited to this country, to whom we promised all the rights and privileges of our citizenship, who trusted in our promises and who became, under our laws, British subjects and Canadian citizens. They are thus humiliated and treated with contempt under the pretence that being born in enemy countries, in Germany and Austria, they might be biased in favour of their native country and against their adopted country. The assumption is false in theory and might easily be so demonstrated. It is sufficient to observe that it is also false in fact. There has not been any current of emigration from Germany to Canada during the last 20 years, and as to Austria, almost the total number, perhaps nine-tenths of the emigrants from that country, were not from Austria proper, but from those Slav provinces held by force by Austria, and whose sympathies are strong and deep against her, and for the Allies. It gives the franchise to some women and denies it to others. All those whose privilege it is to have near relatives amongst the soldiers will be voters. The right will be refused to all those not so privileged, though their hearts are just as strong in the cause, and though they have worked incessantly for it. Moreover, in five Provinces of the Dominion, namely, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, women have been admitted to the franchise. According to the terms of the Dominion law, which no sophistry can blur, being electors in the Province, women are electors in the Dominion. The Act of last Session snatches away that right from them. The Act is vicious in principle, and is equally vicious in its enacting dispositions. . . . It has for its object and for its effect to discourage and to stifle the free expression of the will of the people, and to make Parliamentary government a mere name without the reality.

As to the War, Sir Wilfrid declared that the Allies could not avoid it and pointed out that "at the very beginning, penetrated of the immensity of the struggle and of the necessity of bending all our efforts to the winning of the War, we of the Opposition gave to the Government every possible assistance. We assented to all their War-measures, except when convinced that these measures would be detrimental rather than helpful." This year, however, Conscription had been proposed: "With this policy I found it impossible to agree. If it be asked how this view is consistent with my oft-expressed determination to assist in winning the War, I answer, without any hesitation, that this sudden departure from the voluntary system was bound more to hinder than to help the War." It was opposed to all past British principles and practice; it came as a surprise in Canada and not, as it eventually was carried out in Britain, after a careful preparation of public opinion. As to himself, in the campaigns of 1910-11 he had to meet the Nationalist assertions in Quebec that his Naval policy involved Conscription: "I gave the public frequent assurance that under no circumstances would Conscription follow the adoption of our policy. Again and again after the outbreak of the present War I insisted that Conscription should not be introduced in Canada. Such was my position when the Government reversed its attitude and, without warning, introduced the Military Service Act. To force such a drastic measure upon a people thus unprepared and against repeated assurances to the contrary, was neither wise nor prudent, nor effective. It may bring men to the ranks but it will not infuse into the whole body of the nation that spirit of enthusiasm and determination which is more than half the battle. It will create and intensify division where unity of purpose is essential. I am only too well aware that the views which I here present have not met with universal acceptance, even in the party to which I belong, but even yet I hold that to coerce when persuasion has not been attempted is not sound policy, and in this I appeal to the impartial judgment of all Canadians." Of his own policy he proceeded to treat as follows:

In combatting the policy of Conscription, all that I asked was that a measure of such moment should not be enforced by Parliament without an appeal to the people. I supported a Referendum for the reason that the Referendum is the most advanced and the most modern method of consultation of the people, without the complications inseparable from a general election. . . . A fundamental objection to the Government's policy of Conscription is that it conscripts human life only, and that it does not attempt to conscript wealth, resources, or the services of any persons other than those who come within the age limit prescribed by the Military Service Act. This is manifestly unjust. A policy which will accord first place to the soldier

and the sailor in the concern of the State will, I believe, bring forth all the men necessary to fight its battles without the need of recourse to Conscription. If returned to power, I should adopt such a policy. My first duty will be to seek out the ablest men of the country, men of organizing capacity as well as men representative of all classes in the community, and invite them, irrespective of what it may involve in the way of sacrifice of their personal interests, to join with me in the formation of a Cabinet whose first object will be to find the men, money and resources necessary to ensure the fullest measure of support to our heroic soldiers at the Front, and to enable Canada to continue to do her splendid part to win the War.

As to the present Military Service Act my policy will be not to proceed further under its provisions until the people have an opportunity to pronounce upon it by way of a Referendum. I pledge myself to forthwith submit the Act to the people and with my followers to carry out the wishes of the majority of the nation as thus expressed. I would at the same time organize and carry out a strong appeal for voluntary recruiting. It is a fact that cannot be denied that the voluntary system, especially in Quebec, did not get a fair trial, and a fair trial would receive from a generous people a ready response which would bring men to the ranks, with good-will and enthusiasm, and which would eliminate from our political life one of its most harrowing problems, as no loyal Canadian can view, without the gravest apprehension, a disunited Canada at this critical hour of our history. To these views it is no answer to say as is now often said, that we must have Conscription or 'quit.' This statement is falsified by a recent and conclusive example. Australia rejected Conscription and Australia did not 'quit.' Australia is still in the fight under the voluntary system. . . . To-day, under the exhaustion the War has caused in the Old World, Great Britain and her Allies are appealing as never before for more food, more ships and more coal. No country has vaster resources than Canada to supply these imperative requirements. What is needed is vigorous efforts to further an unlimited production. To meet this existing need, I am prepared, in addition to the measures already outlined, to take what further steps may be necessary to increase, double and quadruple the output of all that may be necessary for marching and fighting armies.

To Quebec he devoted a brief space and claimed that dilatory enlistment there was due to the Borden Government's alleged supporters, the Nationalists, whose policy was "no participation in Imperial wars," and whose doctrine had been emphasized in 1910-11 and never repudiated by their Conservative allies. Of minor items of policy he declared for (1) greater agricultural production facilitated by Government assistance and removal of disabilities; (2) the lifting of duties on agricultural implements and other essentials as demanded by Western farmers and others; (3) the removal of $7\frac{1}{2}\%$ war-tax imposed in 1915 on all except enemy countries and the 5% war-tax imposed in 1915 against British goods; (4) reduction of the high cost of living by bringing under Government control all food-producing factories as in Great Britain; (5) organization of Government shops to manufacture war material, ships, etc.; (6) control, if necessary, of all establishments manufacturing war material in order to immediately stop profiteering; (7) generous assistance on

the part of the State to replace returned soldiers in comfortable positions in civil life; (8) more effective measures by the State for maintenance, care and comfort of the soldiers' dependants and families; (9) a strong and progressive Immigration policy, unhampered by any disfranchisement Act; (10) C.N.R. legislation to be reopened and adjudicated upon by the new Parliament; (11) a system of purchases in Government supplies direct from the producer without the intermediary or middleman. Finally he declared that:

Should I be called upon to form a Government I would hope to include in it representatives of business, of labour and of agriculture, of the men whose sole object in dealing with the affairs of the country will be to devote the whole resources, wealth and energy of the country to the winning of the War. It can only be done by honest agreement amongst all the different elements and interests of the country. I would hope to have a Government representative of the masses of the people—the common people—whose guiding principle should be to defend them against organized privilege which has heretofore had far too much control over the Government of the country. . . . In this Election the supreme end is to assist in the tremendous struggle in which we are engaged, to maintain the unity of the nation, to avoid the divisions and discords which, for many years kept in check, are now unfortunately again looming up dangerous and threatening, to resolutely face the economic situation with the view of avoiding and lessening privations and sufferings, which should not exist in a country so richly endowed by nature as our country.

This Manifesto was variously received. Liberal Unionist papers like the *Regina Leader* eulogized its general fairness toward those who had left their leader and toward the Party he was chiefly opposing; this journal described it (Nov. 5) as "a clear, logical, unimpassioned statement of the political situation as Sir Wilfrid sees it"; all, however, joined with the Conservative journals in declaring that the question of more men for the Front was the vital issue and was not fully met. The *Brantford Expositor*, a veteran Liberal paper, described it as follows: "An able, but disingenuous and subtle appeal intended to reach the disaffected voters of whatever class. It will please the Province of Quebec and it is an alluring bid for the Western vote, but for those who have loved Laurier yet think the winning of the War to be the one great issue, it is a heart-breaking disappointment." It did not win back any of the Unionist press though it did solidify the fighting Liberal elements already behind the Chieftain. As the campaign proceeded Sir Wilfrid Laurier made a limited number of speeches and wrote some letters. Of the latter, one addressed to a correspondent at Windsor, Ontario, in respect to the views of an approved candidate was decidedly enigmatic*: "At a meeting of Liberal candidates in Eastern Ontario three weeks ago

* Published editorially in *Victoria Colonist*, Dec. 13, 1917.



LIEUT.-COLONEL THE HON. P. E. BLONDIN, M.P.
Postmaster-General



THE HON. J. P. ARTHUR SÉVIGNY, M.P.
Minister of Inland Revenue

I declared that there were three alternatives to take—for many of them had declared for Conscription. I did not desire to make this a party question, for that would have been very compromising. Each of these alternatives is acceptable: (1) To present himself against Union and against Conscription; (2) against Union, but for Conscription; (3) as an independent Liberal." The Liberal leader's first election meeting was at Quebec on Nov. 9; it was crowded, wildly enthusiastic, vigorously anti-Conscriptionist. His speech was along the lines of his Manifesto with this main point: "We began with the voluntary system; it is our duty to continue with it." He declared that the Government had manufactured a new electorate with which to win the Elections: "I believe that our first and pressing duty is to share in the fight. I believe that it is our immediate duty to help our armies who have covered themselves with glory. We must support them with men."

Sir Lomer Gouin followed in what the *Toronto Globe* report described as "a passionate speech"; eulogized Sir Wilfrid Laurier as "the great exemplar of the real democratic idea in the new world"; described the Union Government as merely a combination of individuals who did not represent the national spirit of Canada. As to the effort to isolate Quebec: "No man or union of men is strong enough to violate the will of the overwhelming mass of the people. We cannot be frightened by the threat of isolation. Nobody is our guardian. In Canada we are the deans. This is our home, our native land, and here our people will remain as the companions and equals of their fellow-Canadians." The Provincial Premier earnestly endorsed Sir Wilfrid's appeal to the people to serve and serve voluntarily. At Ottawa on Nov. 27 Sir Wilfrid addressed a great mass-meeting accompanied by Hon. C. Murphy and H. H. Dewart, M.L.A. He referred to the Recruiting appeal of the Canadian Club, Hamilton, and stated "that it was his policy not to endorse anything unless he knew the parties who made the application"; declared that the invitation to support a National Service Board appeal for recruiting was refused because the Board had been bedevilled by partisanship; noted that Conscription had been defeated in Australia though there was no Quebec or "racialism" there; proclaimed his devotion to "free speech" and his regret that the Premier had not been heard at Kitchener—even in a bad cause; stated that he would not repeal the Conscription Act until the people had passed upon it by Referendum. He denounced the C.N.R. legislation, described the War-time Franchise Act as iniquitous, criticized the Food Controller for giving good advice, only, while prices of food

continued to soar, referred to the number of recruiting speeches he had made.* A meeting at Arnprior was addressed on Dec. 3 and here, as at Ottawa, he denied any alliance with the Nationalists: "Mr. Bourassa and I are at variance upon many questions as he has set forth in his paper, *Le Devoir*. He says, for instance, that we have done enough in the War. I am in the war to the end." As to the rest: "If we are to win this war, if we are to get men to go to the fighting-line, the proper way is by appealing to the soul, not to coercion of the conscience."

A week later Sir Wilfrid started for the West and made a tour which was triumphant in its great meetings, careful attention of large crowds, respectful interest and evidences of personal *prestige*. At Winnipeg on Dec. 10 he spoke to 8,000 people, described the Union Government as simply the old Borden Government—a political crazyquilt; admitted that Quebec had not done its duty in enlisting, but laid the blame on the alleged Nationalist-Conservative alliance of 1910-11; denounced Sir Clifford Sifton as laying a snare for the Unionist Liberals and declared that, if the Government won, "the rent between the races in Canada will be worse than it was, and the work of making this a united country will have received a very bad shock"; claimed that 150,000 Canadians were in England as reserves and that there was no hurry for re-inforcements and no danger. As to German and Austrian settlers, he said: "It is said that they have a prejudice against Great Britain and for their native country. That is not so." H. H. Dewart, M.L.A., of Toronto, and Hon. A. G. McKay, M.L.A., of Edmonton, also spoke. At Regina on the 11th great throngs sought to hear the Liberal leader. He reiterated his statement that his object had always been to win the War; declared that returned soldiers should be cared for by the Government as a debt and not as a charity; stated that war revenue should be secured by direct taxation on properties; deplored the Borden Government method of raising the revenue by increasing the tariff. "While a small rivulet of the money received under the present fiscal policy goes to the Government, the bulk goes to the privileged classes," he declared. "As to Quebec, I have to admit that Quebec has not given according to its numbers, compared with Ontario and the other Provinces." He once more placed the responsibility on the Borden-Bourassa relations of 1911.

Mr. Dewart and Hon. W. G. Mitchell, Treasurer of Quebec, Hon. G. Langley and Hon. W. R. Motherwell of the Saskatchewan

* *The Liberal Monthly* of Nov. 27 gave a list of 16 recruiting speeches delivered by him in 1914-15-16.

Government, also spoke. Mr. Langley described Sir Wilfrid as "the greatest of all living Canadians"; Mr. Motherwell believed that his former colleague, Mr. Calder, had been "duped by appearances at Ottawa" and claimed that under the Franchise Act "the Government chose the voters instead of the voters choosing the Government." In Calgary on the 12th Sir Wilfrid addressed four large meetings aided by Messrs. MacKay and Dewart, accompanied by Patrick Burns of Alberta cattle fame, and supported in several speeches by Rev. Wm. Irvine, local Liberal candidate, who reiterated the claim that food and production were more needed in the War than men. At Vancouver on Dec. 14 the Liberal leader addressed five meetings. The speeches followed preceding lines, excepting that he explained his inability to aid recruiting in Quebec: "I have not done it because I am not in a position to do it. I was not in the Government, or I would have done it. If I had been in office I would not have been stupid enough to take the methods taken by this Government." Nationalism, supported by a Government alliance, had created the situation in that Province and the Government was suffering the consequences. As to the rest: "If we win I will take my share. I will take the responsibility incumbent on victory. I will try to form a strong Government with all the elements of the country represented, but if I fail then I shall continue the work as a simple private in the grand army of freedom." Other speakers at these meetings were Hon. W. G. Mitchell, H. H. Dewart and Hon. J. W. de B. Farris, of the Provincial Government. This concluded the Laurier meetings of the campaign and Sir Wilfrid returned Eastward to hear the results.

CHAPTER VII.

THE UNIONIST CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN CANADA AND QUEBEC

M EANTIME the Conservatives and their Liberal allies had been working out the difficult task of nominations—in Ontario particularly, where the large majority of seats were held by the Conservative party, and in the West where Liberals were a dominating influence—soothing old animosities, controlling instinctive rivalries, meeting personal ambitions, and evading party prejudices. Many Liberal supporters of Conscription in Ontario were endorsed by Sir W. Laurier and this also created an obvious complication. The press, however, was almost unanimously Unionist and, as the campaign developed, Liberals constantly announced a change of allegiance, spoke or presided at Unionist meetings and illustrated the changing current of public opinion. In Ontario G. D. Conant and F. L. Fowke of Oshawa, F. H. Chrysler, K.C., Ottawa, Hon. E. H. Bronson and A. W. Fleck, Ottawa, Stewart Lyon and J. D. Allan, Toronto, R. J. McLaughlin, K.C., Oshawa, W. E. Raney, K.C., Toronto, E. B. Brown, K.C., a nephew of the late George Brown, Principal D. Bruce Macdonald, J. A. Paterson, K.C., and Robert Jaffray, Toronto; W. E. Smallfield, Renfrew, and Robert Meek, Kingston, were interesting instances. A further illustration was the formal appeal issued on Dec. 15 by 64 Liberals, urging the Electors "as you value the honour of your country, the security and independence of the Empire, and the cause of freedom, to use your influence, as we are doing, and cast your ballots, as we will do, in behalf of the Union Government." This was signed by such men as A. E. Dymont, President of the Toronto Reform Association, and:

James Ryrie.	Lt.-Col. F. H. Deacon.	J. M. Clark, K.C.
J. E. Atkinson.	W. D. Matthews.	G. T. Somers.
D. E. Thomson, K.C.	J. F. MacKay.	Thomas Findley.
J. H. Gundy.	W. E. Rundle.	J. T. Eby.
C. J. Holman, K.C.	A. T. Reid.	A. F. Rutter.
Prof. A. C. McKay.	D. A. Dunlap.	R. A. Reeve, M.D.
John Firstbrook.	Jos. T. Clark.	Chester D. Massey.
E. R. Wood.	Frank Sanderson.	Hugh Blain.
Bert H. McCreath.	E. T. Malone.	S. J. Moore.
Mark Bredin.	S. Casey Wood.	John A. Tory.
John B. Holden.	G. A. Morrow.	Joseph Oliver.

There were difficulties as to candidates in North Essex, in

Hamilton, where Col. J. I. McLaren (Lib.) and T. J. Stewart (Cons.) and C. R. McCullough (Cons.) were candidates, and in West Kent. But there was a strong official desire to avoid such difficulties and accord Liberal-Unionists every possible chance. H. M. Mowat, K.C., was given a Toronto nomination; F. F. Pardee was supported in West Lambton. The latter declared at Sarnia on Oct. 24 that: "I am for a war-union Government. I have been since the War was declared. . . . I am a Liberal by faith and conviction, Liberal to the core. But I believe the momentary fate of political parties little in comparison with the supreme obligations of the struggle which Canada shares. I support the platform of the Government." Hon. F. B. Carvell delivered a vigorous speech in his favour on this occasion. Durham County Conservatives met on Nov. 12 and ratified the nomination of Hon. N. W. Rowell—Col. R. A. Mulholland retiring. In North Oxford Sir R. Borden asked support for E. W. Nesbitt, a Liberal-Unionist, over Col. D. M. Sutherland (Cons.). Eventually most of the asperities of a new combination were removed with Welland where W. M. German and Evan Fraser were candidates, Kent with A. B. McCoig and J. W. Plewes in the field, North Wellington with two Conservatives and a Laurierite as the candidates, being exceptions. In none of these three was there a ratified Government candidate. The *Toronto Globe* had put it on Nov. 9 as follows: "There should be no factious opposition from Conservatives to the group of Liberals who voted for the Military Service Act in the House of Commons and who favour Union Government. . . . They have had a harder road to travel than their Conservative fellow-members. In Parliament they were under the painful necessity of breaking the ties with their leader and with the majority of their colleagues. In their constituencies they must face the hostility of many of their former supporters." This, in the end, was generously and fully recognized.

The 400 Liberal-Conscriptionists from all parts of Ontario who met at Hamilton on Nov. 2nd had no doubt of their position. G. G. S. Lindsey, K.C., presided; H. M. Mowat, K.C., past-President of the Ontario Reform Association, was an active figure ; addresses were delivered by General Mewburn, Hon F. B. Carvell, Hon N. W. Rowell, Lloyd Harris. Other prominent Liberals present besides the most of those signing the call were: D. R. Ross, Embro; T. R. Mayberry, Ingersoll; J. O. McCarthy and F. G. Inwood, Toronto; D. Williams and E. C. Drury, Simcoe; J. H. Crow, Welland, Sam.

Carter, M.L.A., Guelph; Kirwan Martin, Hamilton. Resolutions were passed (1) in favour of enforcement of the Military Service Act, conscription of the wealth and productive forces of Canada with organization of all its natural resources to help the men at the Front; (2) pledging support to Union Government candidates who were the nominees of a joint or fusion Convention; (3) endorsing the Liberal leaders who had joined the new Government. General Mewburn, in his speech, declared that "we are in this war, or should be, not with one, two or three hundred thousand, but to the very limit of our resources," and added, "I did not want to get into public life, and I will not get into politics." Mr. Rowell stated that if the Government met disaster in the Elections "it will not be because of the strength of the Opposition, but because of the prejudice of friends who will not get together." Mr. Carvell announced that "if this Government is returned to power I promise you that so far as I am concerned the rich man will pay much more than he has done in the past." As to the Tariff: "When the War is over I will have something to say about it and I shall say it emphatically."

There could be no question as to the influence of Mr. Rowell in the Ontario campaign. A son of the Province, a man of eloquence and force along moral and patriotic lines, an earnest supporter of recruiting since the beginning of the War, he had won his way in public opinion before joining the Union Government. Then, he appealed with special influence. His share in the Premier's tour has been referred to; besides that he delivered a series of educative addresses which did much to swing Liberal feeling toward the Government. He spoke at Bowmanville on Nov. 20; with Sir George Foster and Gen. Mewburn he was at Hamilton on the 22nd and declared that "if we had been no part of the British Empire at all, but an independent democratic power on the north half of this continent, we would have been compelled to enter this struggle just as the United States has done." After a number of Borden meetings he was at Port Dover on Dec. 3 and at Midland on the 4th. A New Liskeard meeting on the 7th marked the close of a tour in Northern Ontario with Sir Wm. Hearst, in which they had, together, addressed four meetings. At Toronto on the 8th he touched a very practical point: "Suppose Canada says to the United States, 'We're going to leave it to you to carry the burden.' 'All right, then,' says the United States, 'if we've got to carry the burden and there is a shortage of available materials, we'll keep them at home so that we can carry the burden.' If the United States took that attitude it

would paralyze industrial operations in Canada. Men who talk of shifting burdens to the United States know not whereof they speak.” On the 10th Mr. Rowell was at Brampton and dealt with the argument as to reserves in England. He pointed out that the fighting strength of the Army turned on Infantry and stated that the available resources in England and France, back of the front lines, was only 31,000 and probably would be exhausted by April, 1918. A trip through Durham County followed with a number of speeches and the support of Hon. W. D. McPherson of the Ontario Government; he was at Whitby and Galt on the 12th and at Clinton on the 13th—speaking also at Mitchell and Seaforth—with unity of the national forces as his motto and with, also, stern deprecation of the attitude of Quebec. At Lakefield and Peterborough on the 14th he delivered several passionate appeals for war effort and united action. On the 15th he closed his campaign at Newtonville, Newcastle and Bowmanville, and ended a three-weeks’ tour of continuous speech-making.

With Mr. Rowell in part, and at many points alone, Sir Wm. Hearst, Premier of Ontario, aided the campaign with earnestness and force. He spoke at Aurora on Dec. 4, Sault Ste. Marie on the 5th, North Bay on the 6th, Haileybury and New Liskeard on the 7th, Georgetown on the 12th, Petrolea on the 13th, Orillia on the 14th. The Petrolea meeting was notable for a declaration that: “As Prime Minister of Ontario and as representative of its people, I will see that Sir Robert Borden and Mr. Rowell keep their promises to Ontario and that the people of Quebec are compelled to do their share before further sacrifices are demanded from Ontario.” Everywhere his speeches rang with the appeal to stand by the flag and the Empire. Incidents of the Ontario campaign included a Manifesto of 27 Ottawa Liberals issued on Dec. 10, appealing for support to Union Government; a statement (Dec. 15) by G. A. Warburton as the Liberal chairman of the Citizens’ Union Committee, Toronto, that “it is far safer to trust the country to Union Government than it would be to trust it to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, whose chief strength is in a solid body of French-Canadians”; a Message from John R. Rathom of the Providence (R.I.) *Journal* declaring that “it is inconceivable that Canada, which during the past three years has given to the world such splendid proof of her loyalty to all the highest ideals of civilization, should, at this moment, recede from those ideals by declaring herself on the side of the slacker, the coward, the materialist, and of those to whom loyalty and honour are but sounds signifying nothing”; the point raised by Hon. J. D. Reid in a speech (Nov. 5) that Sir W. Laurier was Premier when the Militia Act,

involving military compulsion without selection, became law; a forcible appeal at London on Nov. 29 by Sir Adam Beck, based on what he had seen at the Front—"miles of graves, fields of crosses, your own Canadian flesh and blood lying there under the sod of France and Flanders"; the extremist declaration of the *Toronto News* on Dec. 5 that the Liberal leader, as he appeared before the country, was "nothing more than a play-actor, a demagogue, a charlatan, and a mountebank"; the addresses of Hon. T. W. McGarry and Hon. I. B. Lucas of the Ontario Government at various points.

In New Brunswick and Nova Scotia the Government campaign encountered difficulty in the personal rivalries and political feelings of these long-settled communities. Eventually Win-the-War sentiment and Conventions evoked unity. In New Brunswick the nomination of Maj.-Gen. H. H. McLean (Lib.) for the County of Kings, with strong support from Dr. D. H. McAllister, late Liberal M.P., illustrated one side of the shield. In St. John the Conservatives refused to support Hon. Wm. Pugsley, the late member, because of his past hostility to Conscription and Union and despite his announced leaning toward Union Government as expressed in a long statement, published on Oct. 22, declaring that he had urged Mr. Carvell to join the Coalition and that "Liberals who support Mr. Carvell as a Minister in the Union Government will not thereby cease to be Liberals, any more than Mr. Carvell will cease to be a Liberal and a valiant and fearless champion of Liberal principles." The situation was relieved by his appointment as Lieut.-Governor and the Unionist nomination of R. W. Wigmore (Cons.) and S. E. Elkin (Lib.) for the two seats. In Westmoreland two Unionist Conservatives insisted, however, on running and made the election of A. B. Copp (Lib.) probable, while the chances of F. J. Robidoux, ex-M.P. and an Acadian supporter of Conscription, were very doubtful. The Hon. F. B. Carvell was the chief factor in the New Brunswick campaign, ably supported by Hon. J. A. Murray and Hon. J. B. M. Baxter, members of the late Conservative Government of the Province and by dissentient Liberals such as A. O. Skinner, T. H. Bullock, T. H. Estabrooks, R. T. Hayes, George McAvity, J. Fraser Gregory and Michael McDade. An address by Mr. Carvell to his constituency of Victoria-Albert was widely circulated with the following as the chief clauses:

The real question before the electors of Canada to-day is whether or not this Dominion will do its full duty, not only to itself, the Empire at large, and the civilization of the world, but to the soldiers who have already gone forward, many of whom

have made the supreme sacrifice. When the Military Service Act was introduced in Parliament by the present Premier in the month of May last, a sharp cleavage arose, not only in Parliament, but throughout Canada at large, and, in voting upon this all-important measure, unfortunately, 25 of my colleagues and myself found ourselves at variance with our Leader as to the advisability of supporting Selective Conscription. . . . For four long months my colleagues and myself attempted to find some common ground with our Leader on this great issue, on which we could appeal to the country, but unfortunately we failed; and, believing as I do, that the first duty of every citizen is to do his utmost, and see that his country does its utmost, to the successful prosecution of this war, after many long and weary negotiations I decided to accept the position in the Union Government, which I now occupy. This Government has been formed by a union of both Conservatives and Liberals for the express purpose of carrying on the affairs of the country, if elected, until the close of the War and a reasonable time thereafter in which to demobilize the army and place the country again upon a peace footing. When that has been accomplished our agreement ceases, and every member of the Government, whether Liberal or Conservative, is at perfect liberty to pursue any course which in his conscience he may deem right and proper. We have allowed all matters of local and political interest to Canada to remain in abeyance until peace has been declared, and to devote our whole attention to the energetic prosecution of the War.

A series of speeches followed at Woodstock, Bath, Andover, Plaster Rock, Centreville and other points in his constituency, as well as St. Stephen, St. George, Fredericton and other centres in the Province. His last word was a brief appeal to the Electors published on Dec. 17: "Do your duty. The vote you will cast to-day is the most important of your life-time. You are deciding whether or not Canada shall stand by the men at the Front and the Empire. Vote for the Union candidates." In Nova Scotia Halifax was the chief difficulty. Sir Robert Borden, after 21 years as its representative, retired to run in Kings so that Hon. A. K. Maclean could be one of the Government candidates. Party feeling ran high, however, and the Laurier Liberals nominated two straight party men and declined all negotiations. Eventually Mayor P. F. Martin was nominated with Mr. Maclean. A gathering of 100 leading Provincial Conservatives met in Halifax on Nov. 2, proclaimed its strong adhesion to Union Government and decided to join the Unionist Liberals in a Provincial Association. This was arranged, later on, with Sir Frederick Fraser as President and a Committee composed of prominent Conservatives and Liberals. On Dec. 12 an Appeal was issued, including the following statements: "Which do the fighting sons of Nova Scotia in Flanders trenches want—Re-inforcements or Referendum? They are calling to us for bread. Shall we give them a stone? And a clarion message of warning and appeal goes out to every Nova Scotian from the ravaged community of Halifax. The call is to every man and woman to stand shoulder to shoulder in the great

crisis that confronts us. In Union is Strength. In Union is Security. In Union is Victory." Meantime, Hon. G. H. Murray, for 30 years Liberal Premier of the Province, came out in support of the Union Government and of his former colleague, A. K. Maclean; his published statement of Oct. 24, declared that he had "unhesitatingly offered the co-operation of the Provincial Government of Nova Scotia to any representative National Government organized." The Hon. W. S. Fielding, so long Liberal Finance Minister at Ottawa, on the same day expressed his adhesion in these terms: "I see no reason why the Liberals of the Maritime Provinces should not be willing to support the new Government in measures for the prosecution of the War while reserving their freedom of action"—on other issues. He also approved Mr. Maclean's action. His endorsement was considered satisfactory by the Premier and as he had, meanwhile, received the Liberal nomination in Queens-Shelburne Sir Robert wrote personally to the local Conservative leaders, asking them not to oppose Mr. Fielding. The *Halifax Chronicle* also came out in support of the Government. A great meeting on the 4th was addressed by Mr. Carvell, with Hon. G. E. Faulkner (Lib.) in the chair. As to P. E. Island, Hon. A. E. Arsenault, the Premier, stated that: "There is a strong element and silent vote in the Liberal party which is for the Union candidates. . . . There is a very large representation of Island boys at the Front and their relatives will not see them abandoned, and the same sentiment is expressed by everybody."

The Quebec situation was a vital centre of this contest. It was not important so far as the number of seats which the Government might hope to hold or carry was concerned; they had few illusions as to success beyond hoping for the return of Hon. C. J. Doherty, Sir H. B. Ames, Mr. Ballantyne, Mr. Sévigny and Colonel Blondin, and the barely possible election of a few others who might be affected by the turn-over of English-speaking Liberals in the Eastern Townships. There were many of these, also, in Westmount and Montreal led by such Liberals as W. D. Lighthall, K.C., J. S. Brierley and Wm. Rutherford. But the expressed views of Quebec candidates, the policy of Quebec Nationalism, the support given by Mr. Bourassa to Sir W. Laurier, the anti-Conscription and Government riots, strongly influenced the rest of Canada and undoubtedly did much to affect the final result. The viewpoint of local Conservatives was expressed by Hon. Albert Sévigny at Quebec on Oct. 21 when he stated in an interview that: "Sir Wilfrid Laurier committed a crime in refusing to unite the two great races that live in Canada.

By his attitude and that of his supporters, the French-Canadians, who are a brave people, have been made to appear a race of cowards. If Laurier had accepted Union there would have been prompt settlement of the Ontario and Manitoba School difficulties." In the Montreal district J. H. Rainville, candidate in Chambly-Véchères, managed the Conservative campaign and a Union Government organization of Liberals and Conservatives was formed on Oct. 29, with English and French Sections and a speech from Mr. Doherty declaring that "when the Homeland is attacked, the whole Empire is attacked, and within that Empire Canada is attacked," and one from Mr. Sévigny. The latter declared that: "For five months unscrupulous men, most of them irresponsible men, have thought it their duty to protest against the Military Service Act by attacking the Government, public men and the other Provinces of Canada. The most scandalous insults were bandied about by these men who have placed on my race, a race of which I am proud, a disgrace that, unfortunately, will not be removed for many years to come."

L. J. Tarte and his journal *La Patrie* supported the Government to some extent, as did *L'Evenement*, managed by Mme. Chassé who had two sons at the Front; but these were the exceptions to an almost unanimous rule in the Quebec press. Mr. Sévigny was nominated in two ridings and in his campaign of speeches had a hard time. At St. Anselme in Dorchester on Nov. 11 he was unable to speak a word to a crowd of 10,000 and his effort was interspersed with revolver shots, stones, smashed windows and other unpleasantness. Even in Westmount, where French and English were mixed, cheers for Laurier on Nov. 15 prevented most of the Minister's speech being heard, while broken windows and the burning of his effigy by Laval students further marked public opinion. On the 19th Mr. Doherty, in one part of Montreal, and Mr. Rainville, in another, were howled down by mobs; so in lesser degree with Mr. Ballantyne on the 20th. During this period the press attacks and those of public speakers upon Messrs. Blondin (who was at the Front), Sévigny and Rainville, were amongst the bitterest ever known in even Quebec's stormy politics. "Judas" and "the triumvirate of traitors" were common expressions. The Government candidates could not be heard at meetings and they had practically no press through which to reach the people; Messrs. Ballantyne, Doherty and Ames, as the campaign progressed, met with similar difficulty, so far as the French voters were concerned. In Griffintown (Montreal) on Nov. 19 Mr. Doherty's meeting was broken up; in St. Antoine Division (Nov. 20) Sir Herbert Ames was shouted

down; other meetings had the same result and the three candidates had to be escorted to and from the halls by Police who, however, made no effort to keep order and obviously sympathized with the mobs. Other Unionist meetings had to be cancelled as there was little or no protection for the speakers. Wounded soldiers were hissed or hooted and asked if they were drunk when they enlisted. Outside of Montreal Unionists were frequently terrorized into silence; Joseph Bernard of *L'Evenement*, a candidate in Quebec county, was mobbed on Nov. 25 and threatened with lynching; Mr. Sévigny was unable to return to Dorchester and his life was threatened by letter if he did so; in Laurier-Outremont Colonel Blondin's campaign was carried on for him without meetings except a few addressed by his wife; at Sherbrooke on Nov. 29 a meeting which Messrs. Doherty and Ballantyne tried to address was turned into a three-hour riot by a murderous-acting mob which wrecked the front of the theatre and afterwards flung missiles through the windows when the speakers tried to "carry on"—the Mayor being absent from the scene while the special constables sworn in were not visible. James Morris, who had supported Conscription in Parliament, had no chance in Huntingdon County and a meeting at Franklin (Nov. 30) was dissolved with revolver shots, rotten eggs and stones. Other broken-up meetings were those of P. J. Doré at Lacolle, Aimé Chassé at St. Elphege, C. H. Cahan, K.C., upon several occasions in Maisonneuve—where he was opposing Hon. R. Lemieux.* Within a couple of weeks of Election day the storm was somewhat allayed and some meetings were held without violence. On the 12th, however, a Verdun meeting of Messrs. Doherty and Ballantyne had to be given up. Sir Robert Borden's Montreal address, announced for this date, also, was cancelled.

The reflex action of these incidents was early visible in other parts of the country. Sir Wilfrid Laurier was already a target for much attack, the recruiting situation in Quebec an excuse for a fanaticism which is not confined to any one race or religion or country, the despatches appearing in Unionist papers from Montreal added fuel to any flame which existed and the following extract from one in the *St. John Standard* (Cons.) of Nov. 22 was a sample of many. After reviewing these riots the correspondent proceeded: "Nor are the French Canadians much more sympathetic toward the Victory Loan than they are to the Military Service Act. Deduct the amounts contributed by the English and it is a case of neither pay

*NOTE.—Mr. Cahan had previously retired from the St. Lawrence Division in favour of Col. Ballantyne, the new Minister of Marine.

nor fight by the others. Wholesale exemptions for military service are the rule. Of 15,000 applications for exemption in this city all have been granted but about 600." The statement was unfair or inaccurate as a whole but it served its purpose. Bourassa and *Le Devoir* were widely quoted as representing French-Canadian feeling and views while pages of campaign literature appeared in the newspapers loaded with his anti-British opinions. Resentment was unavoidable and in a political campaign exaggeration was inevitable; while the advantage taken of the deplorable situation in Quebec was politically natural. Advertisements teemed in the Unionist press dealing with Quebec and one from the Citizens' Union Committee, of which J. W. Lyon, Guelph, G. A. Warburton, and Dr. A. H. Abbott, Toronto, were the chief officers, said: "We believe that a united Quebec will dominate a divided Canada unless all loyal men and women forget party differences and local prejudices and unite to support British ideals and traditions; that the future of our soldiers, their wives and dependants, cannot be safely trusted to the Province of Quebec, which has conspicuously failed in all patriotic work—enlistments, Patriotic and Red Cross Funds and Victory Loan." Other separate advertisements of this Committee stated that "a solid Quebec will vote to rule all Canada and only a solid Ontario can defeat them"; that "Quebec must not rule all Canada"; that "a Laurier victory will be the first Canadian defeat"; that Canada having subscribed \$410,000,000 to the Victory Loan—"of which Quebec outside of Montreal only subscribed \$17,000,000—shall we hand the whole sum over to Quebec to spend?" An elaborate page advertisement in the *Monetary Times* of Dec. 14 and many other journals expressed these views:

To-day, in our national crisis, Quebec alone, among all the Provinces, stands more united than ever before. She knows what she wants:—

- (1) Withdrawal from the War. (3) Weakening of the ties of British connection.
- (2) Bi-lingual schools everywhere. (4) Political control of Canada.

From the Ottawa River to Labrador and the Gulf a common purpose actuates Quebec in her determination to profit by the factional divisions of Canada and to impose her will upon all the people of Canada. Within the last few weeks Quebec has mobilized all her forces to dominate Canada under the unified leadership of Bourassa and Laurier. . . . With 60 solid seats Quebec is about to accomplish her designs. Bourassa, the real master and idol of Quebec, is in sight of his goal. To attain her purpose, Quebec has not scrupled to ignore British traditions and to suppress freedom of speech. So thoroughly organized is her campaign to prevent even the discussion of the War that Unionist candidates are prevented from holding public meetings throughout that Province. The Unionist minority in Quebec are the victims of organized obstruction. To be successful in her determination to rule all

Canada, Quebec has but to secure a few seats in each of the other Provinces. United in her determination to quit the War, Quebec would compel a divided Canada to do likewise. By union only can the English-speaking people prevent this calamity.

The Unionist Party Publicity Committee, of which Sir John Willison was Chairman, did strong service for its cause in advertisements spread throughout the press of Canada. Much was said about Bourassa and the French-Canadians. A reference to the Victory Loan was followed by this statement: "Is it to be handed over to Laurier and Bourassa and their adherents, who propose deferring Canada's further participation in the War?" Another advertisement declared that: "Laurier, Bourassa and Quebec think we have done enough, and are in favour of deserting our men, breaking our pledge, ruining the country's credit with our Allies, and trailing Canada's honour in the mud of world opinion. Quebec having failed to do her duty, is now trying to bend the rest of Canada to her will." A campaign leaflet issued by this Committee declared that "the French-Canadians who have shirked their duty in this war will be the dominating force in the Government of the country. Are the English-speaking people prepared to stand for that?" An advertisement on the eve of Election declared that "your vote on Monday will return Union Government—or leave Canada to the will of Laurier, Bourassa and Quebec." From Vancouver to Halifax these advertisements ran and they certainly influenced public opinion, as did the broadcast publication of an anti-Conscription pledge signed by some of the Liberal candidates in Quebec. Speeches everywhere rang with denunciation of Quebec Nationalism, of war inaction, of Bourassa and of an alleged alliance between him and Sir W. Laurier. Edmund Bristol, K.C. (Cons.), in Toronto (Dec. 10) described Quebec as "the spoiled child of Confederation" and T. C. Robinette (Lib.) declared at the same meeting that Quebec could not rule eight other Provinces; H. C. Hocken, an Orange leader and Conservative candidate, was vehement in his denunciation of the French-Canadians, and G. W. Allan, K.C. (Lib.) in Winnipeg (Dec. 5) described Quebec as, politically, "the plague-spot of the whole Dominion"; Hon. T. C. Norris at Morden declared on Dec. 4 that if Sir Wilfrid won the election Bourassa would rule Canada; Sir Hibbert Tupper (Cons.) at Vancouver, on Oct. 20, stated that: "It seems inconceivable, under present needs, that Canada, as a whole, will submit to Quebec rule, and if Laurier wins now it means Quebec rule with a vengeance. I never doubted that our patriots in Quebec are at heart sound but the vast majority are nevertheless being led to a desperate position." Some other references follow:

Isaac Campbell, K.C. (Lib.), Winnipeg, Dec. 5:

Suppose Sir Wilfrid wins and comes into office—I don't think he will come into power. He may hold office, but not power. The backbone of the Quebec Nationalist party won't allow him a free hand on the question of winning the War. He won't hold office a day if he counters their wishes.

Hon. N. W. Rowell, K.C. (Lib.), North Bay, Dec. 6:

We might as well frankly face the issue. There is a Nationalist, clerical and reactionary movement at work in the Province of Quebec which to-day dominates the political situation in that Province, and is using this hour of grave national peril to dominate the political situation throughout the Dominion of Canada. . . . If Sir Wilfrid Laurier had been 20 years younger I believe he would have fought this sinister influence in the Province of Quebec just as he did in 1896, and would have triumphed over it. I was opposed to the Nationalist propaganda in 1911, when Canada was at peace. I am doubly opposed to it to-day, when Canada is at War.

. . . Those of us who had knowledge of the situation found ourselves compelled to choose between supporting Sir Wilfrid Laurier and a policy shaped to secure Nationalist support and which we believed would take Canada out of the War, or to decline to follow him farther.

Archdeacon H. J. Cody (Cons.), Kitchener, Dec. 10:

We have to set aside the picturesque figure of Sir Wilfrid Laurier to see the powers that are behind him. Henri Bourassa is the real leader of Quebec, and I ask if that Province, led by him, shall have the domination of the rest of this free Dominion which has sacrificed and suffered; is it for him to say to the rest of Canada that 'We have done enough?'

Sir Wm. Hearst (Cons.), Georgetown, Dec. 12:

The issue to-day is: Shall Canada have a Union Government of all Provinces and parties outside of Quebec, or shall a solid Quebec control the destiny of a divided Canada? Ontario must stand by the Union of the Eight Provinces, and must do so in a manner so emphatic and conclusive that Quebec domination will never again be attempted.

The Daily News (Cons.), Toronto, Dec. 1:

Is Quebec to rule Canada? Is the one French-Canadian Province to lord it over the eight English-speaking Provinces? Are the people of Quebec, in alliance with the anti-British and pro-German elements of the population in the other Provinces, to take the Dominion out of the War? Are the French-Canadians, who have refused to fight for Canada's liberties, to prevent the re-inforcement of the gallant troops which for over three years have upheld the national honour in countless bloody encounters?

The Globe (Lib.), Toronto, Dec. 4:

How can he (Sir W. Laurier) aid in winning the War if he should attain power and be compelled to retain it by the support of a solid delegation of Quebec members, many of whom are out-spokenly hostile to any further contribution of Canada's man-power to the Allied cause? English-speaking Liberals cannot afford to vote and work for a party in which they can be no more than a tail to the Quebec Nationalist kite.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE UNIONIST CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN CANADA

MANITOBA from the first, was inclined toward Unionism; its Government led the people in this respect and aided in preventing the Western Convention from becoming more than a compromise of diverging views. None of the Provincial Ministers opposed Union and Hon. Valentine Winkler was neutral; Messrs. R. S. Thornton, Edward Brown, T. H. Johnson, J. W. Armstrong and the Premier, did pronounced service in the Elections. The inclusion of Mr. Crerar in the Cabinet, as representing the great grain-growing interests of the West, prevented the appointment of Hon. A. B. Hudson as a second Minister from Manitoba. Mr. Hudson was in the hospital during much of the contest but on Dec. 13 issued a statement declaring there was but one dominant issue: "If an elector wants Canada to do her full share toward winning the War he must support Union Government." All the Liberal members of the Legislature aided the Unionist cause except two; Isaac Pitblado, K.C., H. J. Symington, K.C., J. B. Coyne, K.C., active Liberals of Winnipeg, A. C. Fraser of Brandon and the Rev. Dr. S. G. Bland were other Liberals who took an active part in the Province, as did W. J. Tupper, K.C., a well-known Conservative. Isaac Campbell, K.C., was a veteran Liberal of high character and place in his party who also lent great influence to the Unionists and in a Winnipeg speech on Dec. 5 dealt at length with the attitude of Quebec and the Nationalists. As to the rest: "We are supporting the Union Government on its policy of helping to win the War, and on Conscription because Conscription is necessary. We must keep on and we must stay in the War because, from the most selfish viewpoint, if the Allies are defeated it will cost us more to quit than it will to keep on. We must stay because we have pledged our last available man and our last available dollar. We must stay because our honour is concerned that we do not desert our Allies."

The first great Western meeting was held at Winnipeg on Oct. 22 with Messrs. J. A. Calder, Arthur Meighen and T. A. Crerar as the speakers. Mr. Crerar, in his speech, stated that: "The Grain Growers of Western Canada have always believed in Union Government. Personally I have always believed in it. I believe we should have



THE HON. HUGH GUTHRIE, K.C., M.P.
Solicitor-General of Canada



THE HON. ARTHUR MEIGHEN, K.C., M.P.
Minister of the Interior

had it two years ago and that it would have been much better for us in Canada. . . . I think I can say that the farmers stand whole-heartedly behind it." He took pride in the fact, as Minister of Agriculture, that his whole life had been and would be bound up in Agriculture and he believed that he understood the difficulties of the farmers. As to one leading issue he said: "My conception of the Conscription of wealth is the conscription of the earnings of wealth, of profit, of income, and I think you can rest safely assured that the new Administration will pay very careful attention to that part of the business." Mr. Meighen gave statistics to prove the need for re-inforcements and showed that the net loss to the C.E.F., after enlistments, discharges and casualties had been reviewed, was 50,927 between Jan. 1 and Sept. 30, 1917, while during that period, in the vital matter of Infantry, there were 16,329 enlistments and 48,410 casualties—to say nothing of discharges. Hence the need for Conscription and his hope that "the cry from the agony of the battlefield will be heard in sympathy and answered in honour." He addressed a number of succeeding meetings in Manitoba and others East and West.

During the ensuing campaign Mr. Premier Norris in all his speeches, dwelt upon the necessity of Union to carry on the War, declared his conviction that the new Administration was a real Union Government and that, though an admirer and supporter of Sir W. Laurier for many years, he could not endorse him now. As Mr. Norris was highly respected in the Province his opinion had weight with many old-time Liberals who might not otherwise have changed their minds. During the campaign Messrs. Norris and Meighen spoke together at Morris, Morden, Boissevain, Brandon, Minnedosa and Neepawa. Mr. Crerar and R. W. Craig, K.C. (Cons.), spoke at Roblin, Basswood and Rapid City, Crandall and Hamiota, Miniota and Birtle and Gladstone; Mr. Crerar also was at Carman, Carberry, Souris, Napinka, Manitou and Emerson with W. J. Tupper, K.C. On Sept. 6 the Manitoba *Free Press*, though standing for Union Government during many months, preceded an able campaign of advocacy in succeeding weeks with this declaration: "In order to prevent any possible misunderstanding the *Free Press* asserts that it will not take the responsibility of assisting in the election of any Liberal candidate, however high his position in the party, however emphatic his protestations as to war policy, if he seeks the suffrage of the people solely as a party candidate without the endorsement of a Union Convention. . . . For the duration of the War the *Free Press* is out of party politics." As to candidates

there were complications but most of them were overcome. G. W. Allan, K.C. (Cons.), was a strong candidate in South Winnipeg from the beginning; Rev. Dr. S. G. Bland intended to run in the Centre as a Liberal supporter of the Government but eventually retired in favour of Major G. W. Andrews, D.S.O., a soldier-Liberal; after various complications in Brandon Rev. Dr. H. P. Whidden (Cons.), Principal of the Baptist College, was nominated. Mr. Crerar ran in Marquette and an incident of his contest was a letter (Dec. 5) from H. W. Wood, President of the Union of Alberta Farmers, urging support to the new Minister because of his "devotion to the ideals of the West and the Western farmers, and to the highest ideals of Canadian Nationality as a whole." Mr. Crerar addressed several meetings in Winnipeg and on Dec. 13 told a final one that his two weeks' tour of the Province had convinced him that "rural Manitoba is solid for Union."

In Alberta Liberalism was and had been dominant for years in both Provincial and Federal affairs—while in Manitoba it had only recently won power in the Province after many years of Opposition. There had been some internal divergence of feeling at Edmonton between the sections led by Hon. C. W. Cross, Attorney-General, and Mr. Premier Sifton, but not in any acute active form; in these Elections Mr. Sifton carried with him a large portion of his party but Mr. Cross joined forces with Hon. Frank Oliver and some members of the Provincial Government who stood with him—notably Hon. Duncan Marshall and Hon. Wilfrid Gariepy. Mr. Sifton, however, was a reserved, astute leader and he knew his Province well. Labour interests were strong in the cities and he had one Labour man running as a Unionist supporter in Calgary side by side with T. M. M. Tweedie, an old-time Conservative opponent of his late Government; while a Soldier candidate opposed him personally in Medicine Hat he had popular Conservative officers as Unionist candidates in Major Lee Redmond at Calgary and Maj.-Gen. W. A. Griesbach, D.S.O., at Edmonton. Michael Clark put up a strong fight in Red Deer while W. A. Buchanan, another Liberal of the new light, ran again in Lethbridge; George Lane, the well-known rancher, retired as Liberal candidate in Bow River and proclaimed himself a Unionist; Victoria had a three-cornered fight with J. W. Leedy, ex-Governor of Kansas, standing as an anti-Conscriptionist, Non-partisan League candidate. Mr. Sifton and his one-time opponent, Mr. Tweedie, spoke at Lethbridge on Nov. 20, at Macleod, Calgary, Edmonton, Red Deer and other points.

Dr. Clark, who had a hard fight in his own riding against an anti-war American element, found time to deliver forcible speeches at Calgary and Edmonton; R. B. Bennett, K.C., ex-M.P., who had declined re-nomination in Calgary as a Conservative-Unionist, spoke at various points—Crossfield, Calgary, Carstairs, Acme, Didsbury. Two mass-meetings at Calgary on Nov. 22 were addressed by Hon. T. A. Crerar, Hon. A. L. Sifton, Mr. Bennett and others. Mr. Crerar was emphatic as to the Tariff question not being an issue in this contest and declared that the pre-War expenditure of \$135,000,000 in Canada would increase to \$275,000,000 after the War. It was pointed out that Messrs. Ballantyne, Crerar, Robertson, White and General Mewburn were not politicians in the ordinary sense of the word. At Medicine Hat on Dec. 14 Mr. Sifton dealt with the charge that he had abandoned Liberalism: "A Liberal is a man who stands for progressive legislation and legislation is the test." As to Quebec he was sarcastic: "It seems a man can be a Liberal in the West only if he receives the sanction of Quebec. . . . If we want unity in Canada it can only come by satisfying Quebec. If Quebec is not satisfied then there is disunion!" An incident of the Alberta as well as Manitoba campaign, which had weight with the farmers was the endorsement of Mr. Crerar by H. W. Wood of the U.F.A.; another was the able series of articles published by the *Calgary Herald* under the name of *Politicus*—standing for its editor J. H. Woods. Amongst active Unionist speakers in the campaign were F. Davis, M.L.A., and James Short, K.C. (Conservatives), with Hon. C. W. Fisher, M.L.A., A. L. Smith and Clifford Jones, K.C. (Liberals). No member of the Government of the Province shared in the Unionist fight, though Hon. C. Stewart, the new Premier, announced himself as a supporter.

In Saskatchewan it was a case of Mr. Calder as the head and front of the whole fight and the real leader of Western Canada in the Election. Like Alberta this was essentially a Liberal province and much depended upon his influence. After negotiations of some length it was announced on Oct. 25 that a National Government Association of Saskatchewan had been formed out of the two old Party organizations and a combined political machine created which, in the astute and practiced control of the new Minister of Colonization, promised to be a power for Unionism. On Nov. 20 the *Regina Leader*, an important Liberal element in the formation of Western opinion, after declaring that it stood by Free-trade and Reciprocity and old-time Liberalism, and in determined opposition to the War-time Election Act, proceeded editorially as follows: "It makes

absolutely no difference what question comes up for consideration and action in the next Parliament, whether it be a question of tariff or taxation, or anything else, it should be considered only in the light of its effect in winning the War. All questions should be put to the acid test of the War." Convinced of this and having confidence in the Liberal Ministers and Liberal-Unionist candidates: "The *Leader* is content until the War is won to leave Tariff as well as all other questions to be decided as they effect the one great Canadian and Empire policy of to-day—the winning of the War." Meanwhile, on Oct. 23, Messrs. Calder, Meighen and Crerar had spoken in Regina along the line of their Winnipeg speeches with a special British appeal from Mr. Meighen: "Even though Canada is not a nation of the first rank a reaction on her part would throw a cloud over the Allied front and chill the heart of Britain whose courage and deathless grit has for the second time in a century saved the world." On the 27th Mr. Calder issued a statement as to voting conditions at the Front and stated his decision to accept a Moose Jaw nomination instead of the one offered him for Regina by such prominent Liberal Unionists as R. G. McCuish, H. Y. McDonald, K.C., J. F. Frame, K.C., W. F. Kerr, Robert Martin, etc. At the end of the month the Minister left for Vancouver to arrange British Columbia complications as to seats and candidates and, with Hon. Martin Burrell, addressed a local mass-meeting on the 30th and one in Victoria on the 31st.

Mr. Calder, on Nov. 20, issued a Manifesto addressed to the people of Saskatchewan in which the issues were defined as simple: (1) That a combination of parties could carry on a war better than a partisan Administration and (2) that necessary re-inforcements must be obtained and could only be obtained by Conscription. All Provincial Premiers but one were stated to be supporting the Union Government while scores of prominent Liberals were daily deserting Sir Wilfrid Laurier on this issue and he mentioned J. A. Maharg, President of the Saskatchewan Grain Growers, who had just been elected by acclamation, R. C. Henders and R. McKenzie of the Canadian Council of Agriculture. For the rest he defended his own personal attitude and believed that, as to Union Government, "the pages of Canada's future history will clearly demonstrate that the proper course was pursued, and that Liberalism in its truest and broadest sense did not suffer therefrom." A further appeal was issued on Dec. 6 for organized effort and work: "Now is the time for action. Let the call go forth in every nook and corner of the Province. Patriotic, public-spirited citizens should everywhere

take the lead. Don't hold back. Act now. Otherwise it will be too late." This was followed on Dec. 10 by an elaborate statement from Hon. W. M. Martin, Provincial Premier, in which he began by saying: "I have always been in favour of the principle of the union of parties during the War; Coalition should have been offered by Sir Robert Borden and the Conservative party long before it was."

The new Government was declared to be thoroughly representative of Liberalism—with the exception of Sir. W. Laurier: "At this point let me state that Hon. J. A. Calder entered the Government after a consideration extending over a period of weeks during which time he displayed the greatest anxiety and when he finally reached a decision he did so with the utmost sincerity of which a man is capable." The new Government had already done much; much more remained to be done. He repudiated as untrue and a slander the press statements that "a vote for Sir W. Laurier is a vote to quit the War," and declared his only difference of opinion with the Liberal leader was on the question of Conscription; he described the War-time Franchise Act as "un-British and undemocratic" with machinery which might easily be dangerous to the people and demanded its repeal at the 1st Session of the new Parliament; he denounced and repudiated any campaign against Quebec in the constituencies. But these and other things were subsidiary to the vital War issue of the time and upon this he supported the Union Government. As to Quebec one of the leading Unionist campaign speakers in Saskatchewan was J. H. Haslam (Lib.) of Regina and in a speech (Dec. 8) at Elfros he dealt at length with the French-Canadian situation and described it as involving a solidified Province under the control of the Hierarchy. An incident in this connection was the fact that at the Crear-Meighen meeting of Oct. 23, held in a Methodist Church, the audience was looked after by Catholic ushers. On Dec. 13 Hon. C. A. Dunning, Provincial Treasurer, announced his support of Union Government as had Hon. A. P. McNab upon another occasion. J. A. Maharg, President of the Grain Growers, and elected by acclamation as Unionist member for Maple Creek, issued an Address to the people on the 17th in which he made special appeal to the farmers. Referring to a certain uneasiness as to the Tribunals he said: "The sole purpose of Selective Conscription is that industries essential to the vigorous prosecution of the War shall not be interfered with, and as Agriculture, in so far as Canada is concerned, is the most essential industry, consequently a Government pledged to a vigorous prosecution of the War can surely be depended upon to protect this industry in every

way." He declared in conclusion that the welfare of the Empire and the world was concerned in the result. Mr. Calder on the 15th issued a last word—with these final words as to the War: "We intend to stick and fight it out to a finish."

Public opinion in British Columbia and in its Government was divided during the preliminary months of this contest and the fight itself was a keen one. The Hon. H. C. Brewster had been unable to hold his delegation along Union lines at the Western Convention and he did not lead his party very energetically in the Elections—though he was a strong Conscriptionist. Indeed, his Unionist views were in some doubt for a time and on Nov. 1 he issued a formal statement with this paragraph: "Leading men of both political parties have met on the basis of mutual concessions and sacrifice, and I think Canada is disposed to make similar concessions from whatever hostility was inspired by the record of the late Government and to give the new Administration a trial for the period of the War and subject to the honest, efficient direction of Canada's war efforts. That is my personal attitude." On Nov. 9 he reiterated his view, urged unity of political action and deprecated the conflicting interests visible in the Province; on Dec. 11 he spoke for Dr. Tolmie in Victoria. As a matter of fact the constituencies in this Province were especially hard to manage in the nominations; party and personal feeling, Socialist and Labour sentiment, were rife and it required all available agencies and Mr. Calder's own intervention to meet the difficulties and fuse the rivalries involved into a working political relationship. Mr. Brewster himself was for a time one of the Cabinet possibilities at Ottawa with a seat in that event necessary for himself; his Provincial Conservative opponent, Hon. W. J. Bowser, K.C., was discussed as a candidate, as well as Sir C. H. Tupper, in Vancouver; eventually H. H. Stevens, ex-M.P., was re-nominated as the Conservative and S. J. Crowe as the Liberal Unionist in the Coast city with, also, a soldier-candidate, Major R. C. Cooper.

Win-the-War and Great War Veterans' Leagues were everywhere and of influence in bringing partisans together; in Victoria Dr. Simon F. Tolmie (Lib.) was nominated and carried on an earnest and much-discussed campaign. Many Liberals came into the Unionist ranks and amongst them Nicol Thompson, J. A. Cunningham, J. H. Senkler, K.C., and J. N. Ellis of Vancouver, Dr. Ernest Hall, F. A. McDiarmid, F. J. Stackpoole, K.C., of Victoria, while Joshua Kingham of Victoria was Chairman of the Unionist Federal Committee. A Labour candidate was J. H. McVety,

Chairman of the Vancouver Labour Council; H. Bell-Irving, Vancouver, head of the famous military family, made an earnest appeal through the press on Dec. 13 for support to the Government "because everything we hold dear in life is at stake." Sir Herbert Tupper took a forceful part in the Election. At Victoria on Dec. 4 he declared it a disgrace, an infamy, that a contest had to be fought at all and described the Referendum as a vote by the men who did not want to go to the Front as to whether or not they should be compelled to go! At Vancouver on the 7th he made a slashing attack upon F. C. Wade and other Laurier supporters. At another meeting (Dec. 11) he denounced Bourassa as "steeped to the lips in treason." On the 12th he charged Sir W. Laurier with trying "to open the portals of office with a bloody key." The Hon. Martin Burrell made a number of speeches in the Province—notably at Victoria, Oct. 31, and Vancouver, Dec. 6; Hon. Mr. Calder also spoke in these centres. Hon Mr. Meighen was at Vancouver on Dec. 16 and made this eloquent reference:

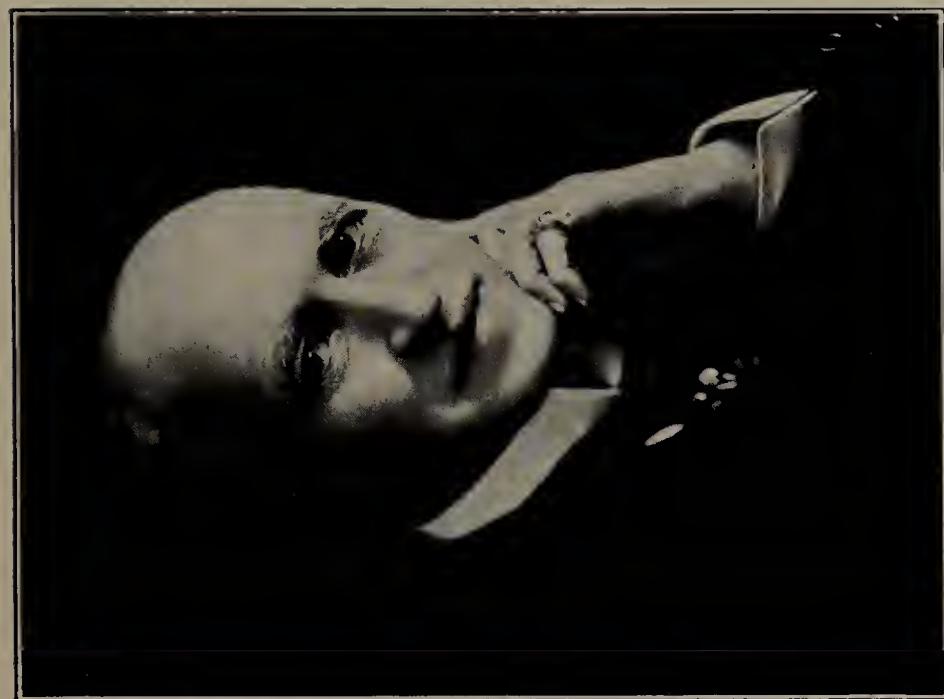
What of Britain! Incomparable Britain! The mainstay, the forefront of embattled democracy. Groaning under a burden that might stagger half the world, she borrows \$5,000,000 more and sends it to bind the wounds and restore the homes of your sister city (Halifax), smitten in the holocaust of war. Britain, the hope, the reliance, of the *Entente*, faithful to the last to every Ally. United around Britain they will win and they all know that come what may, though the world may crash, Britain will stand true, undismayed, unconquerable.

CHAPTER IX.

THE LAURIER-LIBERAL CAMPAIGN AND ITS ISSUES

THE followers of Sir Wilfrid Laurier had a difficult fight to wage in this campaign. Outside of Quebec, where practically the whole press was theirs—except two daily papers—they had a united press against them with the London *Advertiser*, Edmonton *Bulletin* and Calgary *News-Telegram* as the chief exceptions. All the Provincial Premiers were for Union Government except Sir Lomer Gouin, though the Western Liberal Governments were somewhat divided in their allegiance. The soldier vote was a strong Unionist probability. On the other hand the French-Canadian vote in Ontario, Saskatchewan and Alberta was relied upon for support with a still considerable foreign vote which naturally resented the War-time Franchise Act. There were a good many Labour-Liberal candidates who were expected to show good results and there was a restlessness East and West as to the Conscription of farmers which was hopeful. The chief issues raised were the cost of living and alleged power of the profiteers; past political patronage and charges of corruption against Hon. R. Rogers and the Borden Government; faulty Militia administration, the Ross Rifle and alleged failure to educate and interest Quebec in a recruiting sense; the alleged autocratic, anti-Liberal, anti-Canadian, anti-British plan of Conscription. In Quebec the whole issue was Conscription and the personality of Sir W. Laurier. The Publicity element was poor in comparison with that of the Unionists—in a few of the papers of British Columbia and Alberta, chiefly, advertisements appeared describing the whole issue as one of “The People *vs.* The Big Interests” with the Flavelle matter as the basic principle of attack and the C.N.R. policy as a secondary one; the changes also were rung upon an alleged Memorandum prepared by Hon. J. A. Calder in July, which reviewed the sins and weaknesses of the Borden Administration as he saw them at that time; Sir C. Sifton was freely denounced as a capitalistic leader of the Union forces.

In Ontario H. H. Dewart, K.C., M.L.A., for one of the Toronto seats, was a leader in the Provincial fight; Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King was a candidate in North York but took little outside part; Sir Allen Aylesworth made a number of speeches for his old-time



THE HON. ARTHUR L. SIFTON, K.C., M.P.
Minister of Customs



THE HON. SIR EDWARD KEMP, K.C.M.G., M.P.
Minister of Overseas Military Forces of Canada

Leader at Ottawa; Hon. Charles Murphy kept largely to his constituency. The Hon. G. P. Graham supported Conscription but proclaimed himself an out-and-out admirer of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the combination caused his supporters in South Renfrew to give the nomination to a straight Laurier, anti-Conscription candidate, and prevented, also, his receipt of a Unionist nomination. At a Conference called by Sir Wilfrid in Ottawa on Oct. 20 Eastern Ontario Liberals, including Mr. Graham, pledged themselves (1) to support "every effort needed to sustain Canada's part in the War" and (2) recorded "admiration of the life and work of the greatest of all Canadians, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and desire to express the hope that he will long continue as leader of the great Liberal party." On Oct. 24 Mr. Graham was in conferences with Sir Wilfrid, Mr. Lemieux and others at Montreal. On Nov. 2 he telegraphed regret at not being able to attend the Hamilton meeting of Unionist Liberals: "I do not recede one iota from the position I took up in the House of Commons. The platform of the new Government shows the infusion of Liberal principle; if that programme is adhered to I will support it. Our boys at the front have to be supported and the quickest and the fairest way to accomplish this is by Compulsory service." During the ensuing Elections he supported Dr. Rankin, Laurier candidate, at Stratford (Nov. 29) and declared that Union Government should have been formed in 1914; at Ingersoll (Nov. 30) he said that: "Union Government should not be forced down the throats of the people, but formed after the people have expressed themselves at the polls"; in Toronto (Dec. 4) he spoke for A. J. Young, a Laurier candidate, and described himself as a Conscriptionist follower of Sir W. Laurier; at Dundas on Dec. 10 he denounced the War-time Franchise Act and stated that he had refused to join the Union Government because it was intended to stifle the voice and wishes of the people, and should not be formed till after the Elections. He made other strong Liberal speeches during the contest.

Mr. Dewart's view as presented at various places in the Province centred in this statement at Toronto (Oct. 18): "The issue is one between the people and the monopolies. There never has been a time in the history of Canada when the real issue between the Liberal party and whatever party it may have to face was so apparent. The question to be decided at the coming Election is whether the people shall rule or whether the vested interests and moneyed people shall continue to lead the Government. The man who goes into this Union Government puts himself in line with the corporate

interests and against the interests of the people." At a Montreal Liberal function on Nov. 28 he declared that "the Liberal party of Ontario stands behind Quebec, because we believe Quebec will do her part." To a Toronto audience (Dec. 3) he stated that: "The Liberal party of to-day is just as truly fighting the battle of democracy in Canada as are the Allied armies on the fields of Europe. The struggle in Canada is between autocratic and self-constituted power and the authority of the people." At Beaverton (Dec. 5) he declared that Unionist advertising prevented the press from publishing honest statements; at Brockville and elsewhere he denounced the C.N.R. agreement as a betrayal of the public treasury and interests. Sir Allen Aylesworth—whose only son was on active service—proclaimed Liberal loyalty to the War. In Toronto on Nov. 13 he declared "a politician who changed his political creed to be on the same plane as a man who forsook his religious beliefs—he was an apostate and a renegade." He denounced the Union Government as made up of hypocrisy and sham, declared Conscription not an issue as the 100,000 men would soon be Overseas, and freely condemned the Franchise Act. He spoke at Beaverton, Aylmer and other places. Mr. Mackenzie King, at Stouffville (Nov. 23) and other places, described Union Government as a fraud intended to win Elections and not the War: "Conscription might turn Canada into another Ireland."

The candidacy of A. J. Young against Sir George Foster in North Toronto attracted some attention. He had been forced to resign the Laurier candidacy in Nipissing because, though he pledged his support to Sir Wilfrid, he would not promise to support a Referendum or repeal of Conscription. In his appeal to the Toronto riding he declared the new Government and that of Sir R. Borden as the same and opposed it vigorously though saying little as to his own policy; on Dec. 4 he proclaimed himself a supporter of the Military Service Act and its enforcement. The popular personality of Sir Wilfrid Laurier was everywhere used by his friends and eulogized by many of his opponents; undoubtedly it was a factor in Ontario as elsewhere. As Hon. Mr. Murphy was reported to have said at Vars (Oct. 29), so said others: "War or no war, I will not desert Sir Wilfrid Laurier, no matter what policy he pursues. I am a supporter of Sir Wilfrid Laurier through thick and thin, although all others may desert him." Outside of the cities the influence of the Ontario United Farmers' organization was not asserted except through its organ the *Weekly Sun*. This journal was an offshoot of the late Goldwin Smith's influence and support and inherited his

views upon many subjects—with Gordon Waldron, W. D. Gregory and W. L. Smith as from time to time in control of its policy. The two former were Laurier candidates in the campaign while James McEwing, ex-M.L.A., a leader of the organized farmers and a believer in Free-trade, etc., was also in the field—though unlike those of the West he supported the Opposition. To the *Sun* “the validity and legality of the so-called Union Government” (Oct. 17) was a matter for consideration—it would be a “government by usurpers for two or three months”; “the appeals and denunciations of the Laurier manifesto, we should think, put the claims of Union Government aside and elevate the preservation of popular government in this country to first place among the issues of the coming election” (Nov. 7); there was “no mistaking the temper of the farmers, who march in procession and pass resolutions protesting against the taking of their help.” Some meetings of farmers were held to protest against Conscription of their sons—notably at Perth where 500 paraded and met on Nov. 15 but, upon the whole, they did not take fire from either side. The Bracebridge *Gazette* of Nov. 12 made this appeal to them:

Every man taken from a Canadian farm destroys the power of Canada to feed the men at the Front.

Every man taken from a Canadian farm makes more terrible the cry of starving women and children for whom our men are fighting.

Your neighbour did not send your man to war. Will you force your neighbour's man to go to war?

Your man had his choice of what branch of war work he wished to do. Conscription gives no choice. Conscripts must use rifle, bomb, and bayonet.

Your man went forth in honour. Your neighbour honoured him. Will you force your neighbour's man to go in dishonour as a Conscript?

Italy has been over-run by Germany because Italy stripped her fields of men for the Front and left too few men on the farms to feed them.

Conscription and the Union Government is a conspiracy of the rich and powerful against the lowly.

Do you wish to enslave Canada's manhood to help the titled aristocrats?

Mr. Waldron went further and charged (Toronto, Dec. 3) that the Canadian casualties were excessive and that the conduct of the Army should be inquired into; *The Sun* had already declared (Nov. 28) that “many will maintain that these losses must not continue”; on Sept. 26 it asserted that “we cannot hope to exert our full strength in the War, if the soldiers are not assured that they will be ably led.” Upon the whole, however, the Liberal campaign in Ontario was a personal one without such press or platform aid as the party was accustomed to. The best of a difficult situation was made with

the candidacy of Sir Wilfrid Laurier in Ottawa, G. S. Gibbons as Liberal-Labour candidate in London, A. C. Hardy in Leeds against Sir Thomas White, as amongst the more interesting contests.

The Liberal campaign in Quebec was an easy one. Sympathetic and enthusiastic crowds, admiration and respect for the Leader, belief in his cause and advocacy, made the lot of speakers and candidates politically pleasant. The Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, formerly Postmaster-General, was Sir Wilfrid's chief lieutenant and he had stated his personal view to the Canadian Club, New York, on Jan. 27 as follows: "There is one question which in my judgment is paramount—it is the great war now raging beyond the seas; it is the participation of Canada in that stupendous struggle—it is, above all, the determination we share in common that our Empire and her gallant Allies shall ultimately triumph." During the elections he stood upon Sir W. Laurier's platform, claimed that there were 25,000 French-Canadians abroad, pointed with pride to the gallant record of these troops, and keenly resented the term of "slacker" as applied to his people in campaign speeches elsewhere. As he put it at Longueuil on Oct. 22: "I am pleased to see my only son take up arms to fight for ideals of justice but I would have regretted to see the hand of a sergeant laid on the boy to compel him to fight." He dealt largely in this speech, as in others, with the personality of the Liberal leader: "Laurier is a Liberal, a Canadian patriot; above all, he is Laurier." He stated that he bore a message from Sir Wilfrid asking all to obey the Military Service Act. As to the rest he "believed Conscription to be a *camouflage*, under which Rule Britannia could be sung and Quebec insulted as a Province of shirkers and slackers." At Nicolet on Oct. 28 he declared that the French-Canadian did not differ greatly from the English-Canadian in his opinion of Conscription, except that he was more outspoken. Noted in past years as a vigorous exponent and admirer of British connection he now expressed resentment at the action of: "Those supporters of Imperialism who direct the policy of the Government and wish to substitute compulsory for voluntary service. That means to renounce our traditions, to return to colonialism. As a Canadian and a Liberal I rise in revolt against this violation of our rights." As the campaign developed this view was amplified and at Maisonneuve on Nov. 10 he labelled Milner, Northcliffe, Atholstan, Beaverbrook and Flavelle as Imperialistic conspirators who must be dealt with by ballots, compared the Jingoes of London and Canada with the Junkers of Prussia, and declared that Sir W. Laurier had once refused a Peerage. Mr. Lemieux had the Montreal district as

his special charge and, speaking at Hochelaga (Nov. 22),* was quoted in the press throughout Canada as follows: "Why have the Tories imposed Conscription upon Canada? To create a precedent, in order that Canada may become for England a reservoir of men for the wars of the future. That is the basis of Imperialism. I say that before doing more—and we have already done enough—we ought to wait until the United States has furnished at least 1,500,000 men."

The Provincial Premier made several speeches in support of his Federal leader. At Quebec on Nov. 9 he vigorously denounced Conscription and declared that: "The year 1911 was the end of an era of happiness in Canada. . . . Through the aid of Sir Clifford Sifton the Government have been able to get control of the newspapers and chloroform the journalists from the Atlantic to the Pacific." As to the rest: "There is no power here, there is no power in the world, that is able to impose Conscription on the Canadian people against their will. There is no man strong enough to impose this measure upon us if we do not want it." He did not fear the threat of isolation for Quebec: "We are on this land by right of discovery, the right of first settlers, of courage, of constancy, of a special decree of Providence, and we will remain on it." Sir Lomer Gouin also addressed a Montreal mass-meeting on Dec. 7 with Mr. Lemieux, Hon. W. G. Mitchell, Provincial Treasurer, and Hon. S. A. Fisher—with Mayor Martin in the chair. In speaking, the Premier described the work which had been accomplished "by every city, town and village in the Province in subscribing to the Victory Loan, the Red Cross, the Sailors' Fund and many other funds, the object of which was to succour the war-worn heroes in Flanders and in France—especially the Belgians, those glorious martyrs." He denounced the C.N.R. purchase and, as to Conscription, claimed that food, not men, was the vital need of the moment; he severely criticized the Food Controller and Sir Joseph Flavelle. "Our people have been here for 300 years," concluded Sir Lomer, "and no one can possibly treat us as strangers. It is our right to cultivate and preserve intact our ancestral traditions and we intend to do so with as much firmness as piety. Is there any place where the minority have been treated with more justice and respect than in the Province of Quebec?" Fair-play, tolerance and justice was declared to be his motto and that of Sir W. Laurier. At Sherbrooke (Dec. 11) Sir Lomer pointed out that in the Province there were only 5 counties having a majority of English-speaking people, yet

* *Le Canada*, report afterwards quoted by *Le Devoir*.

15 English-speaking Liberals had been elected by a majority of the French vote. He feared that Conscription and 100,000 men would not be the limit of call if the Unionists were returned to power. Besides Mr. Mitchell Hon. J. L. Décarie and Hon. L. A. Taschereau also made some speeches on behalf of the Liberals though the Provincial Government, as a whole, took no active part.

The picturesque figure of M. Martin, Mayor of Montreal, was active in the campaign. On Nov. 7 he was reported as saying "the United States will be given Quebec after the War, if not the whole of Canada, as recompense for that country assisting Great Britain"; on the 6th he described the Masonic Lodge of England as responsible, through Sir R. Borden, for the Conscription Act; on Dec. 4 he told a Westmount meeting that "if Sévigny, Ballantyne, Blondin and Doherty are elected by the votes of soldiers it will mean nothing more nor less than revolt." Meanwhile, *Le Canada* was putting up a vigorous campaign. It claimed that French-Canadians were no longer properly represented in Ottawa Departments or Government appointments; that Sir Robert Borden's methods of rule were as truly Prussian as the Kaiser's. With it and *La Presse* the main issue was Conscription and they fought earnestly along that line—as did English-speaking candidates such as Hon. S. A. Fisher, A. R. McMaster, K.C., James Robb, A. B. Hunt, S. W. Jacobs, K.C., Capt. C. G. Power, F. N. McCrea, Dr. J. J. Guerin, N. K. Baldwin, W. C. Nunn, E. B. Devlin. There was no racialism in this respect. Of subsidiary issues there were many. Attacks upon England and the English were inevitable features of the campaign—illustrated by one statement that the English took to their heels at Mons and Ypres—and they were almost excusable in view of such reprehensible speeches as that of Prof. John MacNaughton of McGill University, in Montreal on Dec. 4, when he made a reference* to the French-Canadians which can only be mentioned here as an illustration, on the other side, of extreme racialism. Another regrettable statement which, also, circulated throughout Canada and arose out of General Currie's appeals for support to Conscription was that the General had been recalled to England on account of incompetence. Bishop Fallon's support of Union Government was keenly resented and *La Presse* became especially vehement in this respect while *Le Canada* described him as forming an alliance with Orange fanatics to suppress the French language. An important incident of the contest was the issue, under Nationalist auspices, of a pledge as to

* "If Laurier were to win he would win leading the cockroaches of the kitchen of Canada to victory."

Conscription which was signed by Lucien Cannon, Liberal candidate in Dorchester,* and others throughout the Province, as follows:

I, the undersigned candidate for the Federal deputation, by these presents, agree, if I am elected, to exact the immediate suspension of the Military Service Act of 1917, and all of its effects, until the Canadian electors have been consulted by a plebiscite, and, should the majority of the people condemn Conscription in this Referendum, I agree to require that it (the Military Act) be considered as void and without effect from its very origin, and that in consequence the conscripts be liberated from service and discharged. I also agree to vote against any Government that should refuse to adopt the above-mentioned policy.

What the Nationalist support amounted to in the contest did not appear clearly as there, practically, was no division in the Opposition ranks and all were against Conscription. In the 1911 contest the Nationalists had won a number of seats and most of their members had given a general support to the Government until the development of the Conscription issue. In this 1917 Election there were no Nationalist candidates except T. Marsil, who ran as a Liberal and signed the above pledge, L. O. Maille, who appeared as an Independent, and A. Lavergne, who ran against a Liberal and a Unionist in Montmagny. From his intellectual but narrow watchtower in *Le Devoir* Mr. Bourassa watched the contest and his utterances were so freely and widely quoted as to form one of the lesser issues of the campaign. On Nov. 8 he made a statement† after conference with "a great number" of his followers and friends as to what attitude they should take in the contest, which proceeded, in part, as follows: "The Unionist programme is the antithesis of all we admire, of all we believe and all we desire, while it is the synthesis of all we detest, of all we despise, both in men, ideas and tendencies in both parties. . . . We are at one with Laurier in contesting the right of the Tories to seek to cover up their crimes and misdeeds of the past six years. Adversaries of the Coalition Ministry, of all its platform and of its *personnel*, we accept M. Laurier's programme insofar as it approaches our principles and our ideas, and we reject it wherever it agrees virtually with that of the Ministry. We ask nothing better than to assist Laurier to throw out of power the Government which has proved itself a traitor to the nation." On the following day appeared a bitter attack on England along lines common with *Le Devoir* and stating that 4,000,000 men of military age were being deliberately kept in the factories and shops so as to evade service! On the 10th Nationalists were urged "to exact

*A detailed despatch from Quebec in the Toronto *Globe* of Nov. 12.

† Despatch and translation in Toronto *Globe*, Nov. 9. Elaborate Report in Montreal *Star*.

pledges from the Liberal candidates that they would not only oppose Conscription but would put themselves on record as against any and all additional efforts to prosecute the War."

Meantime, the result in the Maritime Provinces hung in doubt. Party feeling ran high and the members of the Provincial Governments took no active part in the contest on either side, though the Premiers were understood to favour Unionism. The retirement of E. M. Macdonald from the representation of Pictou, N.S., was a distinct loss to Liberalism as was the moderate support of Unionism given by Hon. W. S. Fielding—though Hon. R. M. MacGregor of the Provincial Government supported the Liberal in Pictou. Much was expected and a strong support received from the Acadian vote in New Brunswick where *L'Acadien*, said to be the organ of Hon. P. J. Veniot, Minister of Public Works, was opposed to Conscription. These Provinces, however, had little outside aid in speakers and the Laurier organization was poor while the more influential Liberal press supported the Government. In the West things were different and, despite the acceptance of Union Government by the leaders of the Grain Growers, much was hoped from dissentient farmers who would refuse to put aside their Free trade and other convictions for any cause whatever. For a time the attitude of the Farmers' candidates, of whom there were seven and including J. A. Maharg, President, Saskatchewan Grain Growers, R. C. Henders, President of the Manitoba body, and J. S. Wood, Vice-President, R. McKenzie, Secretary, Canadian Council of Agriculture, Thomas Beveridge, P. Proudfoot, W. J. Ford—all but two running in Manitoba—was in doubt. On Oct. 4 they issued a statement declaring that "there is necessity for complete organization of the nation's forces for the winning of the War, including not only the conscription of men for fighting but also, and simultaneously, the control of industry and the mobilization of wealth." They admitted Sir Robert Borden's honesty of purpose but deprecated his alleged desire to organize a mere political combination; to them this would not be a real Coalition of the kind required. So with the failure to adequately conscript wealth and control industry. They stood for the national Free trade platform of the Council of Agriculture but were prepared "to forego the immediate discussion of Tariff amendments, if given full assurance that an adequate measure of excess profits and income taxation would be put in operation at the earliest moment." Eventually the adhesion of T. A. Crerar to the new Government settled this issue and on Oct. 31 the *Grain Growers' Guide* expressed its approval and support, Mr. Henders came out for the Government, Mr.

Maharg was elected by acclamation as a Government supporter, Mr. Wood gave way for Hon. Mr. Meighen in Portage La Prairie and Messrs. Beveridge, Proudfoot, McKenzie in Manitoba, and Ford in British Columbia, retired.

This disposed of one Liberal hope but there were varied forms of Western feeling from which much support still was assured. Much was made, for instance, of the danger to farms and farmers of any further depletion of man-power but the assurance of Gen. Mewburn that "farmer's sons who are honestly engaged in the production of food will be exempt from military service," coupled with Mr. Justice Duff's decision that competent agricultural labour should not be withdrawn from the farms, were largely accepted as a pledge of policy. On the other hand Sir W. Laurier's promise of free agricultural implements and lower tariff duties was popular in the West. In Winnipeg S. J. Farmer, R. A. Rigg, and F. J. Dixon were vigorous Liberal workers and, on Oct. 19, a Provincial Liberal Association was formed with Alex. Dunlop, Neepawa, as President and the support of Senator R. Watson, H. Chevrier, ex-M.L.A., etc. In Saskatchewan Messrs. W. R. Motherwell, Geo. Langley, G. A. Bell and W. F. A. Turgeon of the Provincial Government, remained Laurier supporters; the attitude of Hon. S. J. Latta was doubtful and the Premier and Hon. A. P. McNab were Unionists; G. A. Scott was actively Liberal and many other members of the Legislature stayed with their leader. Mr. Calder, however, controlled the Party organization and took it over to the Government. On Dec. 3rd Mr. Langley addressed a letter to Sir W. Laurier which was made public. In it he specified his support because: "(1) I am fully persuaded that the resources of this Dominion will be placed more completely at the disposal of the Empire in this critical time under your strong leadership"; because (2) the leadership of Sir R. Borden, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Meighen and Sir T. White represented to him "class selfishness and reactionary political thought"; because (3) the War-time Election Act disgusted him and the alleged appeals to race and religious fanaticism alarmed him.

Alberta was led by Hon. C. W. Cross, Attorney-General, in this matter and his influence was widely exerted for Laurier Liberalism. He had the support of Hon. J. R. Boyle, Hon. W. Gariepy and Hon. G. P. Smith of the Provincial Government, while A. G. McKay, M.L.A., J. L. Coté, M.L.A., and other members of the Legislature helped with speech and influence. Hon. Frank Oliver was the centre of the fighting in Edmonton where, despite his large former majorities and the work of his paper, *The Bulletin*, he had a power-

ful opponent in General Griesbach who was still at the Front. His newspaper, on Sept. 13, declared that: "To the Liberal West Laurier stands impersonally as the embodiment of an ideal created by years of service, distinguished by achievement when in power and by steadfastness to principle in defeat. In the mind of the West, Laurier and Progress are intimately associated." This personal issue was steadily urged and had its weight. In Red Deer Dr. Michael Clark was turned down by a Liberal Convention and W. F. Puffer nominated; eventually he ran as a Unionist. On Nov. 1 Alex. Allan of Calgary, President of the Provincial Liberal Association, called a Convention of "Liberals opposed to the Borden Government" to meet at Edmonton on Nov. 10 in order to discuss the situation and 500 representatives attended, including Messrs. Oliver, McKay and Gariepy with Martin Woolf, S. G. Tobin, H. P. Atkins and W. A. Rae, members of the Legislature. The Resolutions were ten in number and unanimously approved the platform adopted by the Liberal Convention at Winnipeg; condemned Messrs. Sifton, Calder and Crerar for entering the Union Government and substituting expediency for consistency, political intrigue and manœuvring for statesmanship; re-affirmed confidence in Sir Wilfrid Laurier, his judgment and leadership; expressed its appreciation of the services of Labour in the War and regretted that its rightful claim to representation in the Government had been ignored; condemned the Military Service Act and the War-time Elections Act, because of manifest unfairness and the disfranchisement of a large percentage of the population; deplored the disfranchisement of all but a few women in five Provinces of Canada and declared for the enfranchisement of all women on an equal basis with men; demanded that agricultural implements be placed on the free list and that the Agricultural resources of Canada be effectively organized to aid in winning the War; condemned Sir Robert Borden for failing to restore control of their natural resources to the Western Provinces and demanded immediate action; asked for increased pay for the soldier, increased allowances to dependants and the revision and enlargement of the Pension list to the end that every soldier and his family should be properly and fully cared for.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier was the keynote of the Convention and a despatch of endorsement was sent during the proceedings. Mr. Allan presided and Hon. F. Oliver spoke at length. Mr. Cross sent a telegram as to : "The intriguing cabal of profiteers at present in control at Ottawa and the so-called Win-the-War movement; I know of no one who can do more toward consolidating Canada's

efforts in that behalf than our honoured leader, Sir Wilfrid Laurier." The Laurier Resolution expressed special confidence in Sir Wilfrid to realize the Convention policy: "We recognize that it is only by levying its fair contribution on the accumulated wealth of the country; the elimination of profiteering, the proper regulation of food prices to reduce the cost of living, and the rational utilization of the man-power of the nation, that Canada can hope to do her full share in the War." Mr. Cross took an active part in the ensuing campaign from Vancouver to Winnipeg and appeared to be really hopeful as to the result of the contest; Hon. A. G. McKay (one-time Liberal leader in Ontario) spoke at many points—Red Deer on Nov. 21, Edmonton on the 23rd and 24th, Battleford on the 28th. Mr. Oliver spent much time speaking in the North and at Morinville on the 30th developed a new point for his side in admitting that Compulsory military service was recognized in the Militia Act and declaring that: "The question is as to the application of this principle, whether it is wise or prudent to apply it at the present time and whether the measure is wisely framed; upon this I and my Leader took issue with the Government of the day." Supported by Hon. G. P. Smith, Provincial Secretary, he spoke at length in Edmonton on Dec. 7 while W. W. B. McInnes, lately a British Columbia County Court Judge, delivered in Calgary on Nov. 29 two of his characteristic orations in denunciation of the Borden Government, the "big interests," the profiteers, the "purchased, venal press of Canada" and the evils of Conscription and the War-time Franchise Act while also eulogizing Laurier and Liberalism. This was the text of practically all the Western Liberal speeches in the campaign.

Other incidents included the activities of James Weir, M.L.A., a Vice-President of the United Farmers of Alberta and prominent in a United States organization, the Non-Partisan League, which had won place and influence in Saskatchewan and Alberta. He campaigned against Mr. Crerar in Manitoba and spoke at Winnipeg and many points in Alberta; urged the platform of the League, including a demand that 10% of accumulated capital be conscripted; was repudiated by H. W. Wood, President of the U.F.A., so far as representation of that organization was involved; described Quebec as "the gem of Confederation" in a Winnipeg speech; met Mr. Crerar in joint debate at Minnedosa on Dec. 12 where he claimed, on Lord Rhondda's alleged authority, that Britain's needs were in this order—food, munitions, money, men; alleged in a letter to the *Grain Growers' Guide* that Mr. Crerar stultified the whole farmers' movement by joining a Government of the capitalist

class. Mr. Weir spoke in Calgary on Nov. 29 in support of Rev. Wm. Irvine, Labour candidate in that city and also a Non-Partisan League promoter.

In British Columbia the Liberal campaign was led by W. W. B. McInnes and F. C. Wade, K.C., and organized by Hon. J. H. King of the Provincial Government—supported also by Hon. J. W. de B. Farris, K.C., Attorney-General, Hon. J. W. Weart, Speaker of the Legislature, J. S. Cowper, M.L.A., G. G. McGeer, M.L.A., Jos. Watters, M.L.A., of Yale, and M. A. Macdonald, M.L.A., late Attorney-General. Hon. T. D. Pattullo, Minister of Lands took no actual part though a Laurier supporter at the Western Convention. Charles Macdonald, Gordon Grant and Joseph Martin, K.C., of Vancouver, and Stuart Henderson, Victoria, were active figures in the campaign. Mr. McInnes, who was an ex-M.P., after resigning as County Court Judge, accepted nomination in Comox-Alberni as well as Vancouver and spoke almost continuously for two weeks—mostly in Vancouver and once in Calgary. He took the ground that the advocacy of Conscription throughout the Dominion was an artificial cry worked up for political purposes, that Canada had men enough in England to supply re-inforcements for the next two years, and that the voluntary system was capable of maintaining Canada's quota at the Front. He issued a Manifesto on Sept. 15 which covered a whole newspaper page. In it he accepted the War as the vital issue and elaborated the above views; described the Canadian Patriotic Fund management as affected by snobbery and favouritism and denounced the Borden Government up to the hilt; wanted the Army democratized and the "vultures' feast of corruption" eliminated; urged greater production and the establishment of one language in the country. In this Province, as everywhere outside of Quebec, the Liberal campaign was complicated by the split in the party which took away so many leaders of Liberal work and opinion and turned them into opponents. There were, also, in British Columbia, 7 Labour or Socialist candidates—4 of them dividing the Liberal vote. Three of the Liberal candidates were former soldiers.

CHAPTER X.

THE UNION GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE

HERE was no doubt about the position of the Churches in this election—except as to the rather clouded situation in Quebec. The Union Government Publicity Committee recognized this in a press appeal and advertisement on Dec. 13 which declared that “Onward! Christian Soldiers!” should be the battle-cry of every sane man and woman in the country; the Methodist Church openly took the lead in this connection. Officially the *Christian Guardian*, week after week, impressed upon its people that there was only one issue—that of the War. On Dec. 12 it finally urged that neither party politics nor the position of Quebec should be allowed to separate Canada from that one consideration. The Rev. Dr. S. D. Chown, General Superintendent of the Church, through this journal on the above date and in the press throughout Canada, stated the situation with earnest frankness. He supported Conscription as essential and the Union Government as necessary for its enforcement; he deprecated the dominating attitude of Quebec and referred to the “grave danger lest one type of religion should obtain a preponderating influence in the counsels of the Government of Canada.” He declared that: “This is a redemptive war, and its success depends entirely upon the height of sacrifice to which our people can ascend. It is under this conviction that ministers of the gospel feel in duty bound to enter the political arena. We shall fail, and fail lamentably, as Christian people unless we catch the martyr spirit of true Christianity and do our sacrificial duty between now and the 17th of December.” Equally emphatic was the Manifesto of the General Board of Social Service, addressed to the Methodist people and signed by Rev. Dr. T. Albert Moore (Dec. 7). It urged support of the Union Government: (1) In order to adequately re-inforce the troops, (2) to prevent internal division and ensure enforcement of the Act, (3) as a duty to the soldiers and in order to properly aid in defeating Germany. The Toronto Methodist Ministerial Association, the Methodist Churches of St. John (N.B.) District, the Methodist Conference of Saskatchewan, passed earnest Resolutions along this line; countless preachers of this Church throughout Canada urged the same view.

The Church of England was not far behind. Archdeacon H. J. Cody, Toronto, was an outspoken supporter of the Government; Bishop David Williams of Huron issued a statement (Dec. 6) declaring that "the only course for us, consistent with our self-respect, independence and freedom, whether as Canadians, British subjects or as Christians, is to support the Union Government"; Bishop J. C. Farthing of Montreal issued a Pastoral (Dec. 6) describing the emergency and the policy of the Government, and appealing to his people to "close up our ranks and unite the country behind our Union Government for God and country"; Bishop J. A. Newnham of Saskatchewan declared in an interview (Dec. 12) that he was "heart and soul for the Union Government, believing that its policy is the wise one and its pledges and intentions are honest and tend to the real welfare of the country"; Bishop C. D. Schofield of Columbia, B.C., presided at a Unionist meeting in Victoria on Dec. 15 and urged support to the Union Government because it was "pledged to see that everything is done to forward the cause that the British Empire has taken in hand as from God Himself"; Bishop A. J. Doull of Kootenay, B.C., stated in a Pastoral (Nov. 30) that "the duty of supporting the Union Government is a sacred one" owing to the British need for men; Bishops J. A. Richardson of Fredericton and L. W. Williams of Quebec, at St. John on Dec. 16, urged support of the Government and the War; the Synod of Calgary Diocese by Resolution (Dec. 13) declared it "the duty of every churchman, setting aside all thought of party politics, to support the present Government"; Archbishop S. P. Matheson, Primate of all Canada, in a Pastoral on Dec. 8, urged all voters to support the Government and active prosecution of the War; Bishop J. F. Sweeny of Toronto, in a Pastoral of Nov. 29, gave the following reasons for supporting the Government.

- (1) Because it is non-partisan—being composed of the best men on both sides of politics.
- (2) Because its *raison d'etre* is to 'win the War.'
- (3) Because it pledges both sides equally to any policy or action that in their combined wisdom they may adopt toward this end.
- (4) Because its determination is to keep full faith with the Motherland, in the matter of Canada's pledges, and thus with Canada's sons at the Front.
- (5) Because to do otherwise at this time of stress for the Empire would be to emphasize division, the consequences of which might lead to disasters greater than can be estimated.

So far as this subject was concerned Bishop M. F. Fallon of London was the one outspoken representative of Catholicism and his manifesto of Dec. 6 was published and circulated all over Canada. In

it he paid high personal tribute to Sir Wilfrid Laurier but declared that "every element opposed from the beginning to Canada's participation in the War, every element desirous that Canada should now withdraw from the War, as well as all those who hold it as a principle that Canada is not concerned in the War, are united in their opposition to Union Government and in their desire to bring back to power, for their own unworthy purposes, the great leader who disclaims all sympathy with the principles they profess." He described what Catholics in the United States and in Canada were doing for the War, denounced any slackening in Canada's purpose, described Conscription as absolutely necessary, declared the isolation of Quebec to be a danger, but one of her own choosing, and added that there was a still "graver danger in needlessly confusing religion with a question purely racial." As to the rest he urged all to support the Union Government. There was no official utterance from the Presbyterian Church—except the Toronto Presbytery—but the Rev. Dr. D. M. Gordon, Principal of Queen's University, Major the Rev. Dr. C. W. Gordon back from the Front, the Rev. Prof. Robert Law of Knox College, and the Rev. Dr. A. S. Grant, made strong personal appeals. The *Maritime Baptist* of St. John urged the greatness of the War issue; Rabbi S. Jacobs of Toronto asked the Jews to support the Government and British justice and liberty; a large body of Toronto clergy of every Protestant denomination met on Dec. 4 and urged support to Union principles, as did a similar meeting at St. Stephen, N.B. So it was all over Canada with countless sermons along this line from pulpits of all denominations as Dec. 17 approached, with also, Unionist meetings held in many church buildings.

The position of the Women in this Election was an interesting one. They were earnestly appealed to by the Government, the press, the pulpit and the platform and received a vote if qualified by age and allegiance and the fact of being a wife, widow, mother, sister, or daughter, of any person, male or female, living or dead, who was serving or had served without Canada in any of the military forces, or within or without Canada in any of the naval forces of Canada or of Great Britain in the current war. The Prime Minister, in his Manifesto, stated that this war-franchise was granted because "if men die women suffer; if they are wounded women heal; if they are maimed women labour," and promised extension after the War. The estimated number of possible women voters under current conditions ran up to 1,000,000 with half that as the probable total. Union Government had the public support of Mrs. A. E.

Gooderham, President I.O.D.E.; Mrs. A. B. Ormsby, President, Ontario Women's Citizenship Association; Mrs. E. A. Stevens, President, W.C.T.U. of Ontario, and Mrs. L. A. Hamilton, Chairman, Women's Section of Win-the-War League. On Dec. 14 Maj.-Gen. S. C. Mewburn, Minister of Militia, issued an Appeal to "Mothers of Canadian Soldiers" of which an extract follows:

Is there not cause for just and solemn pride that your sons were not found wanting when the testing time came, but were foremost among men of valour and high spirit, eager to bear their part in the most momentous struggle in the history of the world? These men who left the shores of Canada were your sons; bone of your bone, and flesh of your flesh. Their sacrifice is your sacrifice, their suffering has been your suffering, and their honour is your honour. To you the nation offers its homage, gratitude and respect. The War is not yet over, though we have cause to be thankful for battles won and for many signs that the enemy is weakening under our blows. The end is certain, but the only path to victory is that of fortitude and patience. To weaken now is to lose all.

They were told in many directions that the War was made upon women by Germany to an atrocious extent and much was said of the Cavell murder; daughters of the late Edward Blake, Sir Oliver Mowat, Principal Caven and the widow of Dr. Carman appealed publicly for support to Unionism; Sir Robert Borden on Dec. 13 declared that in addressing over 50 meetings he had found women everywhere to be "strong of purpose, earnest and active in endeavour, clearly realizing that the issue is infinitely above all party or personal consideration." For the first time in Canadian history women shared in political Conventions, presided at political meetings, spoke, with men, from platforms to large and small crowds. Women organized in separate Associations in many centres and took their full share in the work of canvassing. On Dec. 6 the wives of leaders in the great Protestant denominations signed an appeal to all women to pray and vote for the best support of the soldiers; the Victoria (B.C.) *Colonist* on Dec. 16 had a full-page appeal to the women to vote against "a Bolshevik intoxicated with the hope of power"; a Winnipeg Committee of 500 women aided the Unionists in that City and were backed up by a meeting of 2,000 women on Dec. 13, which was addressed by Hon. T. A. Crerar and others; in many Western places they had their own Committee rooms and paid their own expenses and took part in the parades when victory came; the Union Government Association of Quebec Province had a French-Canadian Ladies' Section, headed by Lady Angers, Mme. P. E. Blondin and Mme. L. J. Tarte with Mesdames P. B. Mignault, C. P. Beaubien, L. P. Rodier, H. Duverger and H. de Salaberry



THE HON. C. J. DOHERTY, K.C., M.P.
Minister of Justice and Attorney-General



THE HON. SIR JAMES A. LOUGHEED, K.C., K.C.M.G.
Minister without Portfolio

upon the Committee. Amongst the women who did active service as speakers in the campaign were the following Unionists:

Mrs. H. P. Plumptre.....	Toronto.	Mrs. R. F. McWilliams.....	Winnipeg
Mrs. L. A. Hamilton.....	Toronto.	Mrs. Edward Brown.....	Winnipeg.
Mrs. G. G. S. Lindsey.....	Toronto.	Mrs. Harold Riley.....	Calgary.
Miss Constance Boulton.....	Toronto.	Capt. Julia Henshaw.....	Vancouver.
Lady Eaton.....	Toronto.	Mrs. Irene Moody.....	Vancouver
Mrs. A. B. Ormsby.....	Toronto.	Mrs. John Scott.....	Montreal.
Mrs. N. W. Rowell.....	Toronto.	Miss Helen R. Y. Reid.....	Montreal.
Mrs. P. D. Crerar.....	Hamilton.	Mrs. Grace McLeod Rogers..	Amherst
Mrs. Charles Robson.....	Winnipeg.	Mrs. Colin H. Campbell....	Winnipeg.

The Laurier Liberals did not have much publicity for their meetings and it, also, was difficult to find any large number of women supporters along public lines. In Toronto Mrs. Hector Prenter was active and in Vancouver Mrs. Ralph Smith; in Montreal Dr. Grace Ritchie England spoke for Sir Wilfrid, as did Mme. J. P. B. Casgrain, and in Winnipeg Mrs. George Armstrong.

Labour took an organized form in the Elections but was not actively hostile to the Union Government, despite the attitude of its leaders toward Conscription. The Government recognition of Parties for the polling of the soldiers created the opportunity and a distinct party was formed with Walter R. Rollo of Hamilton as the titular leader of 37 candidates. He ran against T. J. Stewart, and other candidates who may be mentioned were D. A. Carey in Toronto South who was, practically a Unionist supporter, A. Verville in Montreal who was a Laurier advocate, H. J. McVety in Vancouver, a long-time leader in Labour circles, R. S. Ward and R. A. Rigg, the latter resigning from the Legislature in Winnipeg and both running as opponents of Conscription and Union; Andrew McBeth in Regina who called himself a Liberal-Labour candidate and supported the Opposition. The tendency amongst most of these candidates was towards Socialism—in the West a rather extreme form and with two of the Ontario men calling themselves Social Democrats. There were three Labour candidates in Montreal who would not acknowledge the Rollo leadership, an Independent in S. Vancouver (Edward Gold), and 4 candidates in Alberta and Saskatchewan of the Non-Partisan League, including J. W. Leedy who supported the Opposition and D. H. Galbraith of Unionist tendencies. G. S. Gibbons (Lib.) in London received, also, the nomination of the local Trades and Labour Council as a supporter of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. In Montreal on Nov. 3 the Independent Labour Party of Canada, Quebec Branch, was formed with Joseph Ainey as President, and under the auspices of J. C. Watters, President of the Dominion Trades and Labour Congress, who, however, intimated that the Congress was

taking no part in the Elections. The Federal programme of the new organization included free State insurance against sickness, old age and accident; abolition of prison labour in competition with free labour, a State bank to take the place of the existing system, free speech and a free press, abolition of the Senate, a fixed date for Federal Elections to prevent surprise contests. A Manitoba Branch was organized on Nov. 8. As the Election developed, however, it was clear that Labour would not be a serious issue; the War was too big a matter to admit of any third Party successes.

CHAPTER XI.

POPULAR ENDORSEMENT OF THE UNION GOVERNMENT

THE Unionists made the Soldiers and their re-inforcement the vital issue of the Elections; at the same time every care was taken to see that their votes were polled whether in England, in France, in the United States, in the Navy, or elsewhere, as well as those of their dependants in Canada. The terms and arrangements were clearly defined in the Military Voters' Act;* the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition each nominated 22 special returning officers and clerks for Overseas or elsewhere outside of Canada; each of the 300,000 soldiers, nurses, etc., abroad was allowed to vote only for a candidate upon his Party affiliation—Government, Opposition, Labour, or Independent—and not by his name, which caused some complications; arrangements for military voting within Canada and naval voting at sea, covering an estimated 40,000 men, were elaborated with special polls. Lieut.-Col. W. P. Pursey, Overseas Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, was appointed to superintend the voting and the Government Scrutineer in France was Lieut.-Col. F. Manley Sims, C.M.G., D.S.O.; in England, Lieut.-Col. A. T. Thompson; those for the Opposition were respectively, Godefroi Langlois and W. T. R. Preston. Presiding Officers in charge were appointed for England as follows: Maj.-Gen. G. B. Hughes, Brig.-Gen. F. S. Meighen, Col. Charles A. Smart, Col. S. D. Gardner, Lieut.-Col. F. L. Armstrong, Major J. T. Hill. In France, and Europe generally, Col. Frank Reid was in charge. Those in Canada and for the Naval posts were as follows:

Major G. J. Dawson	Edmonton.	Lieut.-Col. G. W. Marriott	Quebec.
Lieut.-Col. J. H. D. Hulme...	Vancouver.	Lieut.-Col. A. B. Gillis.....	Whitewood.
Lt.-Col. A. L. Bonnycastle...	Winnipeg.	Capt. F. C. C. Pascoe.....	Halifax.
Col. Frank B. Black.....	St. John.	Lt.-Com. C. J. Stuart.....	Sydney.
Col. W. E. Thompson.....	Halifax.	Vice-Adm. Wm. O. Storey...	Esquimalt
Lieut.-Col. G. H. Gillespie ..	Kingston.	Col. Charles F. Winter.....	Ottawa.
Capt. H. F. Reid.....	Windsor.	Lieut.-Col. H. A. C. Machin.	Ottawa.
Major N. M. Young.....	Toronto.	Lieut. Col. G. A. Carruthers..	Ottawa.
Major F. B. McRae.....	Charlottetown.	Capt. M. W. Turner.....	Ottawa.
		Lieut.-Col. E. T. Leprohon..	Montreal.

In Overseas camps the soldiers commenced voting on Dec. 1 and the polls closed at 8 p.m., Dec. 17. Details of voting regulations

* For details see Sub-Section, "War Legislation and Parliament," Pages 330-1.

were as follows: If the elector could indicate the name of the electoral district in which he last continuously resided for at least 4 months of the 12 months preceding his enlistment or appointment—or a place in that district—his vote went to that electoral district but if he could not specify these details the vote would go to any electoral district of which he had clear recollection as a one-time resident. If, by reason of non-residence in Canada, or from any other reason, he was unable to indicate any particular constituency or place, then he might stipulate the electoral district to which his vote should apply. Union Government appeals to these troops abroad were urgent and like those addressed to the people at home were based primarily upon the failure of voluntary enlistment and the need for re-inforcement. As to this an official statement was issued from Ottawa on Dec. 12 stating that the total Infantry reserves in France and England were 31,000, with only 16,500 immediately available. The remaining 14,500 were undergoing training in England or were men convalescing there. The total Infantry enlistments for the 11 months ending Nov. 30 were 22,487, while the total Infantry casualties for the same period were 119,541. The remainder of troops in England, about 44,000, were in training and included re-inforcements for Artillery, Cavalry, Engineers, machine-gunners, pioneers, army service and army medical corps. Another Passchendaele fight, it was said, would wipe out the reserves immediately available. To the soldiers at the front two formal appeals were made. That for the Government took the form of a statement from its Liberal members signed by Messrs. Rowell, Mewburn, Sifton, Calder, Crerar, Ballantyne, Maclean and Carvell. It explained the reasons for Conscription and the formation of the new Government, described the negotiations with Sir W. Laurier, indicated the public support given to the Unionist policy and added: "We regard the winning of the War as the supreme issue, and are resolved to leave lesser matters in abeyance while the united energy of the Canadian people is directed to that end. We pledge ourselves to labour unceasingly in the cause to which you have devoted yourselves. . . . We desire to prove ourselves worthy of you by aiding in the carrying on of the Government of the Dominion in an honest, straightforward way." Meanwhile, on Dec. 6, a special cable was sent from 18 Liberal newspaper Editors supporting Union Government as follows:

The undersigned desire to express to you, and through you to the members of the Dominion's Overseas forces, the assurance:

(1) That in their opinion the present Union Government is formed primarily for the purpose of securing support for the troops in the field;

(2) That the new Government includes or has the support of practically all the Liberal leaders and has the support of all the Liberal Premiers in the Dominion except in Quebec, and

(3) That it can be relied upon to deal with conditions in Canada and abroad, which have been subject to criticism in the past.

(Signed)

Stewart Lyon, <i>Toronto Globe</i>	W. J. Taylor, <i>Woodstock Sentinel</i>
J. W. Dafoe, <i>Winnipeg, Free Press</i>	J. I. McIntosh, <i>Guelph Mercury</i>
J. E. Atkinson, <i>Toronto Star</i>	W. M. Davidson, <i>Calgary Albertan</i>
G. Fred Pearson, <i>Halifax Chronicle</i>	J. G. Elliott, <i>Kingston Whig</i>
E. W. McCready, <i>St. John Telegraph</i>	W. E. Smallfield, <i>Renfrew Mercury</i>
Cal. Davis, <i>Hamilton Times</i>	H. T. Blackstone, <i>Orillia Times</i>
T. H. Preston, <i>Brantford Expositor</i>	H. J. Pettypiece, <i>Forest Free Press</i>
W. F. Kerr, <i>Regina Leader</i>	H. B. Donly, <i>Simcoe Reformer</i>
H. P. Moore, <i>Acton Free Press</i>	H. Fleming, <i>Owen Sound Sun</i>

On the other hand advertisements appeared in various English papers and special Opposition appeals were issued and signed by W. T. R. Preston "on behalf of the Liberal candidates." In them, on Nov. 17 Sir W. Laurier was described as the greatest Colonial figure of this generation, loyal to the Crown and to British interests, pledged to support the Motherland "with the full resources of the Dominion," to give honest government, to eliminate political favouritism in the Army, to take care of the soldier—if returned to power—in all kinds of personal and public ways which were specified in eight general clauses. Various political charges followed as in this paragraph: "While you, with true British courage and amazing fortitude have faced, and are preparing to face, appalling conditions and stupendous sacrifices, political vultures at home have been fattening, and are preparing to fatten still more, upon public expenditure and public necessities. Colossal fortunes have been amassed by Government pets through exorbitant profits, who have made no personal sacrifices nor suffered any personal inconveniences. The political hangers-on at Ottawa have been raking in the gold while you and your comrades were being raked by German shells." As to Conscription this explanation was given: "Sir Wilfrid Laurier voted against Conscription (1) because Sir Robert Borden had given his pledge that there would be no Conscription until after an Election, and (2) because the proposal was not accompanied with a Bill to Conscript the wealth of those who had grown rich out of war contracts and food profiteering." The Referendum would settle the issue, clear away dissension and bring about Union at home with "a full quota of re-inforcements." On Nov. 22 in the *Canadian Gazette* and other journals this statement was inserted over Mr. Preston's signature:

Under instructions from Sir Robert Borden's Cabinet, Army Officers who are filling safety jobs are mobilized to organize and secure your votes in support of the Government.

These officers have been furnished with a list of constituencies which they are charged to carry at all costs.

This action by officers is a direct violation of the King's Regulations.

That instructions have been given of this character on the authority of the Government justifies the allegation that the management of the Canadian Army is political to the core.

It is no secret that this horde of 'cushey' officers is to organize and distribute the 'floating vote' to constituencies in which, but for this nefarious work, the Government Candidates will be defeated.

By marshalling and dividing this vote in certain constituencies these officers hope to throttle the honest voice of the Dominion.

This is being systematically and officially arranged. The man who steals your franchise commits a much greater offence than if he steals your purse.

From the men at the Front came many Unionist appeals for support. The Rev. Dr. C. W. Gordon bore, and expressed, a strong one; Rev. Canon A. P. Shatford of Montreal wrote a vigorous one; Col. W. G. McKendrick of Headquarters Staff wrote to Mr. Rowell a most earnest description of the need. Other elements of urgency from the Front included an earnest letter from Maj.-Gen. Sir S. B. Steele to J. M. Godfrey, Toronto, published on Oct. 2; a long letter from Major J. A. Leger in *Le Moniteur Acadien* and others in the press from Rev. Father Thornton, Major J. L. Ralston, Major Stanley Bauld, Lieut. J. D. Cahan, and very many others—with an earnest message from Rudyard Kipling on Dec. 1 declaring that: "If re-inforcements are not forthcoming, Canada, after all her sons' mighty sacrifice in the last three years, must gradually go out of the War. That means that half-a-million devoted men will have been coldly repudiated by their own people." In a cable from General Turner, v.c., to the Minister of Militia, made public on Nov. 28, specific reference was made to this need of re-inforcements: "We who are close to the fighting zone know only too well the bitter struggle which the Canadian Divisions are making to maintain their position. If the people of Canada would only realize that in order to maintain our Divisions at full strength men who have been wounded have to be rushed back as soon as they are fit without the leave or rest to which they are entitled, I believe there is not a patriotic civilian in Canada who will not stand heart and soul behind you in your endeavours." Speaking at Ottawa on Dec. 13 the Premier read a letter from General Sir Arthur Currie concluding as follows: "With the firm belief in our hearts that we shall be supported and upheld by all true Canadians, we pledge

ourselves solemnly, before God, to keep faith with our fallen comrades."

In Canada the War Veterans were a factor. They were impelled by the issues to take part in the contest though, under organization form as the G.W.V.A., they were not supposed to have any politics. Major C. V. McCormack in Parkdale, Toronto, Major R. C. Cockburn in East York received the enthusiastic support of returned soldiers and the *Toronto Telegram*. At a Parkdale meeting (Dec. 2) Sergt. W. E. Turley, Secretary of the Provincial G.W.V.A., stated that this organization was not in politics but was behind the Union Government because it brought in Conscription to help the men at the Front: "There are 32,000 reasons under the sod in Flanders why it should go through." The G.W.V.A. worked also for Lieut.-Col. J. I. McLaren in West Hamilton and Colonel D. M. Sutherland in North Oxford—neither of whom had Government endorsement. The Ottawa Branch on Dec. 13 issued a declaration that: "Our Association knows no politics, and therefore we are glad to be able to support a Unionist Government because it is composed of the best men in both political parties whose sole object is the winning of the War, the support of our men at the Front and their dependants at home." It concluded with an appeal to vote for Government candidates and the British Empire. At Woodstock (Dec. 15) Sir Adam Beck supported Colonel Sutherland. In Montreal Lieut.-Col. J. J. Creelman, D.S.O., stood as an Independent candidate, supporting Conscription and a National Government, but eventually retired in favour of Sir H. B. Ames; Lieut.-Col. D. C. Draper, D.S.O., was a Government candidate in Brome and Major G. W. Andrews, D.S.O., in Winnipeg—the latter with the following platform:

1. The boys overseas need immediate and adequate re-inforcements.
2. A solid Quebec must not rule Canada.
3. Russia has collapsed. Will Canada be next?
4. Women are generally right. Next-of-Kin women are backing Union Government.
5. France has given 1 out of 7 of her population; Britain 1 out of 8; Australia 1 out of 14; Canada 1 out of 20. Surely we have not done enough.
6. A vote for Union Government is a vote for democracy, and a blow to militarism.

Major D. Lee Redman ran in Calgary as a Unionist and with the Government endorsement, but also as the official nominee of the G.W.V.A. of Calgary. The Provincial Executive of the Saskatchewan body issued a Manifesto on Dec. 15 declaring that 2,600 returned soldiers of the Province had "emphatically expressed themselves

in favour of Union Government." Signed by Major James McAra, President, a strong appeal was made for popular support. The Regina body worked hard to elect Dr. W. D. Cowan and held a mass-meeting in his behalf on Dec. 3 while Pte. Harris Turner, the blind M.L.A. and returned veteran, spoke throughout this Province for the Unionists. In Vancouver South the Unionist nominee was Major R. C. Cooper who was also endorsed by the G.W.V.A. Other soldier candidates were Major Aimé Chassé, Quebec; Lieut.-Col. Sam Sharp, N. Ontario; Major B. R. Hepburn, Prince Edward; Col. C. R. Peck, Skeena, B.C.; Brig.-Gen. W. A. Griesbach, D.S.O., Edmonton; Capt. R. J. Manion, Port Arthur; Lieut.-Col. Norman Lang, Humboldt; Lieut.-Col. James Arthurs, Parry Sound; Dr. J. L. Chabot, Ottawa; Dr. Peter McGibbon, M.C., Muskoka; Major J. W. Margeson, Lunenburg, N.S.; Capt. J. W. Brien, S. Essex; Col. H. F. McLeod, York, N.B.; and Capt. C. G. Power, a Laurier supporter in Quebec.

Meanwhile the Elections had been proceeding. So far as the Government was concerned the arrangement of candidates in constituencies, as between Conservative and Liberal Unionists, was an essential point. In the East there was no exact rule with a succession of compromises according to local conditions and subject to certain obvious hitches—the lack of Government endorsement for Labour candidates, largely because of the absence of Unionists amongst them, and the unavoidable endorsement of some party candidates against soldiers. In the West, however, Sir James Lougheed and Mr. Burrell with Messrs. Calder and Sifton had the matter largely in hand and, after many conferences with other leaders and politicians, a general agreement of fifty-fifty for the 56 Western seats was announced on Oct. 25. In the country, as a whole, there was (1911) a Conservative popular majority of 669,594 to 625,103; in 1908, 1904, 1900 and 1896 there had been a Liberal popular majority averaging 60,000 in the four Elections; to this popular vote a part of the women now were added. In the late House the members totalled 221; in the new one they would be 235. The deferred elections were Halifax (2 seats), Nelson, Manitoba, (a new seat) and the Yukon. Nominations took place on Nov. 19 and 18 acclamations were announced, including Hon. W. S. Fielding in Nova Scotia, John McMartin in Glengarry, Robert Cruise in Manitoba and J. A. Maharg, with three others, in Saskatchewan—all Liberal Unionists; Hon. Martin Burrell (Cons.) in British Columbia and Hon. H. S. Béland, who was still a German prisoner, with 9



THE HON. T. A. CREEAR, M.P.
Minister of Agriculture



THE HON. G. D. ROBERTSON, SENATOR
Minister without Portfolio

Laurier Liberals, in Quebec. Others were chosen later owing to retirement of opponents and, by election day, 29 had been returned without opposition, including such representative supporters of Sir W. Laurier as J. A. C. Ethier, L. A. Lapointe, G. H. Boivin, Hon. Jacques Bureau and L. J. Gauthier. Hon F. B. Carvell and Hon. F. B. McCurdy in New Brunswick were also returned as Government members. Lieut.-Col. Wm. Hendrie retired in West Hamilton as did W. B. Northrup, K.C., ex-M.P. for East Hastings—the latter a popular political figure who became Clerk of the new House of Commons. T. Marsil in Montreal and E. F. Dussault in Quebec also retired. On Election Day it was found that the Unionists had a majority of at least 40 and probably 60. The returns as finally settled appear in the following statement compiled from official sources:

ONTARIO

Constituency	Opposition Candidate	Government Candidate	Member Elected	Poli- tics.	Ma- jority.
Algoma East	L. O. Connor.....	G. B. Nicholson.....	G. B. Nicholson.....	Govt.	146
Algoma West	C. N. Smith.....	T. E. Simpson.....	T. E. Simpson.....	"	2,270
Brant	B. Doran.....	John Harold.....	John Harold.....	"	83
Brantford	J. W. Bowlby.....	W. F. Cockshutt..	W. F. Cockshutt..	"	3,692
Bruce North	John McAuley.....	Col. H. Clark.....	Col. H. Clark.....	"	1,690
Bruce South	R. E. Truax.....	A. E. McNab.....	R. E. Truax.....	Opp.	172
Carleton	F. H. Honeywell..	George Boyce.....	George Boyce.....	Govt.	2,621
Dufferin	T. C. Dryden.....	J. A. Best.....	J. A. Best.....	"	2,991
Dundas	A. W. McIntyre...	O. D. Casselman..	O. D. Casselman..	"	1,430
Durham	G. W. Jones.....	Hon. N. W. Rowell.	Hon. N. W. Rowell.	"	4,519
Elgin East	W. G. Charlton..	D. Marshall.....	D. Marshall.....	"	308
Elgin West	Wm. Tolmie.....	Hon. T. W. Crothers.	Hon. T. W. Crothers.	"	1,647
Essex North	W. C. Kennedy...	E. S. Wigle.....	W. C. Kennedy...	Opp.	446
Essex South	Robt. Atkin.....	Capt. J. W. Brien.	Capt. J. W. Brien,	Govt.	169
Fort William-					
Rainy River	A. H. Dennis.....	R. J. Manion.....	R. J. Manion.....	"	3,383
Frontenac	J. Halliday.....	Dr. J. W. Edwards	Dr. J. W. Edwards.	"	1,983
Glengarry-Stor-					
mont		John McMartin...	John McMartin...	"	Accl.
Grenville	P. A. McIntosh...	Hon. J. D. Reid...	Hon. J. D. Reid...	"	1,277
Grey North	Dr. A. L. Danard*	W. S. Middlebro...	W. S. Middlebro...	"	2,294
Grey South-east	W. H. Wright.....	R. J. Ball.....	R. J. Ball.....	"	1,236
Haldimand	J. J. Parsons.....	F. R. Lalor.....	F. R. Lalor.....	"	1,216
Halton	W. D. Gregory....	R. K. Anderson...	R. K. Anderson...	"	2,770
Hamilton East	G. Halcrow.....	Hon. S. C. Mewburn.	Hon. S. C. Mewburn.	"	6,752
Hamilton West	{Lt.-Col. J. I. McLaren*} W. R. Rollo*	T. J. Stewart...	T. J. Stewart.....	"	2,737
Hastings East	W. Cross.....	T. H. Thompson ..	T. H. Thompson ..	"	2,293
Hastings West	R. J. Graham.....	E. G. Porter.....	E. G. Porter.....	"	1,625
Huron North	A. Hyslop.....	James Bowman...	James Bowman...	"	2,029
Huron South	T. McMillan.....	J. J. Merner.....	J. J. Merner.....	"	543
Kent	A. B. McCoig.....	J. W. Plewes.....	A. B. McCoig.....	Opp.	1,089
Kingston	A. W. Richardson.	W. F. Nickle.....	W. F. Nickle.....	Govt.	4,412
Lambton East	Neil McDougall...	J. E. Armstrong...	J. E. Armstrong...	"	984

*The words "no endorsement" under Quebec mean that one or more candidates of varied affiliation ran, but only received a few votes; elsewhere the asterisk means that the candidates were of diverse political views in opposition to the Government nominee.

Constituency	Opposition Candidate	Government Candidate	Member Elected	Poli-tics	Ma-jority
Lambton West..J. G. Morrison....	F. F. Pardee.....	F. F. Pardee.....		Govt.	2,849
Lanark.....	B. A. C. Caldwell..	Dr. A. E. Hanna..	Dr. A. E. Hanna..	"	3,207
Leeds.....	A. C. Hardy.....	Hon. Sir W. T. White	Hon. Sir W. T. White	"	3,167
Lennox and Ad-dington.....	E. W. Grange.....	W. J. Paul.....	W. J. Paul.....	"	1,582
Lincoln.....	Capt. E. J. Lovelace	J. D. Chaplin.....	J. D. Chaplin.....	"	5,519
London.....	G. S. Gibbons.....	Hume Cronyn.....	Hume Cronyn.....	"	4,353
Middlesex East.J. M. Rose.....	S. F. Glass.....	S. F. Glass.....	"	1,457	
Middlesex West.D. C. Ross.....	G. A. Elliott.....	D. C. Ross.....		Opp.	399
Muskoka.....	G. H. O. Thomas..Peter McGibbon..	Peter McGibbon...		Govt.	1,579
Nipissing.....	E. A. Lapierre.....	C. R. Harrison....	C. R. Harrison....	"	44
Norfolk.....	J. A. Wallace.....	W. A. Charlton....	W. A. Charlton....	"	1,286
Northumberl'd.S. G. Dudley.....	C. A. Munson.....	C. A. Munson.....	"		3,397
Ontario North..Fred. Hogg.....	Lieut.-Col. S. S. Lieut.-Col. S. S. Sharpe.....	Sharpe.....		"	1,555
Ontario South..W. E. N. Sinclair..Wm. Smith.....		Wm. Smith.....		"	2,523
Ottawa.....	{ Sir W. Laurier....J. L. Chabot.....	J. L. Chabot.....		"	5,023
	{ H. B. McGiverin.-A. E. Fripp.....	A. E. Fripp.....		"	5,470
Oxford North...D. M. Sutherland.E. W. Nesbitt.....	E. W. Nesbitt.....	E. W. Nesbitt.....	"		762
Oxford South...M. S. Schell.....	D. Sutherland.....	D. Sutherland.....	"		1,312
Parkdale.....	Gordon Waldron..H. M. Mowat.....	H. M. Mowat.....	"		9,608
Parry Sound....H. C. Hocken.....	Col. J. Arthurs....	Col. J. Arthurs....	"		3,139
Peel.....	B. Petch.....	Samuel Charters..	Samuel Charters..	"	2,252
Perth North....J. P. Rankin.....	H. B. Morphy.....	H. B. Morphy.....	"		1,868
Perth South....Wm. Forrester.....	Dr. M. Steele.....	Dr. M. Steele.....	"		57
Peterborough E.W. H. Johnson.....	J. A. Sexsmith....	J. A. Sexsmith....	"		1,166
Peterborough W.R. R. Hall.....	J. H. Burnham....	J. H. Burnham....	"		3,418
Port Arthur and Kenora.....	J. A. Dunbar.....	F. H. Keefer.....	F. H. Keefer.....	"	3,514
Prescott.....	Edmond Proulx....A. R. Metcalf....	Edmond Proulx...	Opp.		2,304
Prince Edward H. Horsey.....	W. B. R. Hepburn.W. B. R. Hepburn.	W. B. R. Hepburn.	Govt.		1,476
Renfrew North.Norman Reid.....	Col. H. J. Mackie.	Col. H. J. Mackie.	"		524
Renfrew South.I. E. Pedlow.....	Lt.-Col. T. L. Martin I. E. Pedlow.....		Opp.		63
Russell.....	Hon. C. Murphy..D. C. Merkley....	Hon. C. Murphy...	"		2,127
Simcoe East....Manley Chew.....	J. B. Tudhope....	J. B. Tudhope....	Govt.		3,593
Simcoe North..E. C. Drury.....	Col. J. A. Currie...	Col. J. A. Currie...	"		1,947
Simcoe South...J. H. Mitchell.....	W. A. Boys.....	W. A. Boys.....	"		4,614
Timiskaming...A. E. Roebuck.....	Hon. F. Cochrane.	Hon. F. Cochrane.	"		2,157
Toronto Centre.J. G. Ramsden.....	Edmund Bristol...	Edmund Bristol...	"		8,133
Toronto East...J. T. Vick.....	Hon. Sir A. E. Kemp	Hon. Sir A. E. Kemp	"		11,495
Toronto North.A. J. Young.....	Rt. Hon. Sir G. E. Rt. Hon. Sir G. E. Foster.....	Foster.....	"		18,237
Toronto South..D. A. Carey.....	Dr. C. Sheard.....	Dr. C. Sheard.....	"		5,104
Toronto West..C. W. Kerr.....	H. C. Hocken.....	H. C. Hocken.....	"		9,618
Victoria.....	G. D. Isaac.....	Hon. Sir S. Hughes.	Hon. Sir S. Hughes.	"	3,259
Waterloo North.W. D. Euler.....	W. G. Weichel....	W. D. Euler.....	Opp.		1,864
Waterloo South.Adam Thomson....	F. S. Scott.....	F. S. Scott.....	Govt.		2,787
Welland.....	U. M. German....	Maj. E. E. Fraser.	Major E. E. Fraser.	"	762
Wellington N...Jas. McEwing.....	Wm. A. Clarke....	Wm. A. Clarke....	"		1,494
Wellington, S...L. Cunningham...	Hon. H. Guthrie...	Hon. H. Guthrie...	"		5,219
Wentworth.....	J. H. Dickenson...G. C. Wilson.....	G. C. Wilson.....	"		5,683
York East.....	Major R. C. Cock-burn (e.w.v.a.)*..	Thos. Foster.....	Thos. Foster.....	"	3,978
York North....Hon. W. L. M. King	J. A. M. Armstrong.	J. A. M. Armstrong.	"		1,078
York South....A. MacGregor.....	W. F. Maclean....	W. F. Maclean....	"		14,023
York West.....	Frank Denton....T. G. Wallace....	T. G. Wallace....	"		9,074

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QUEBEC

Constituency	Opposition Candidate	Government Candidate	Member Elected	Poli- tics	Ma- jority
Argenteuil.....	P. R. McGibbon..	Harry Slater.....	P. R. McGibbon...	Opp.	429
Bagot.....	J. E. Marcile.....	J. E. Lafontaine.....	J. E. Marcile.....	"	3,226
Beaute.....	Hon. H. S. Béland.....		Hon. H. S. Béland.....	"	Accl.
Beauharnois.....	L. J. Papineau.....		L. J. Papineau.....	"	Accl.
Bellechasse.....	O. A. Fournier.....	Honoré Grenier.....	O. A. Fournier....	"	3,692
Berthier.....	Theodore Gervais.....	J. W. A. Ecrément.....	Theodore Gervais..	"	982
Bonaventure.....	Hon. C. Marcil.....	Phillippe Furois.....	Hon. C. Marcil....	"	2,895
Brome.....	A. R. McMaster.....	Col. D. C. Draper.....	A. R. McMaster...	"	438
Chambly and Verchères.....	J. Archambault.....	J. H. Rainville.....	J. Archambault....	"	2,065
Champlain.....	A. L. Desaulniers.....	Hon. P. E. Blondin.....	A. L. Desaulniers..	"	6,623
Charlevoix-Montmorency-Pierre Casgrain.....	P. Bouchard.....	Pierre Casgrain.....	"	"	5,068
Chateauguay-Huntingdon.....	J. A. Robb.....	James Morris.....	J. A. Robb.....	"	1,845
Chicoutimi-Saguenay.....	Edouard Savard.....	Joseph Girard.....	Edouard Savard...	"	10,031
Compton.....	A. B. Hunt.....	K. N. McIver.....	A. B. Hunt.....	"	1,903
Dorchester.....	Lucien Cannon.....	Hon. J. P. A. Sévigny.....	Lucien Cannon....	"	3,731
Drummond and Arthabaska.....	J. O. Brouillard.....		J. O. Brouillard....	"	Accl.
Gaspé.....	Hon. R. Lemieux.....	Dr. L. P. Gauthier.....	Hon. R. Lemieux..	"	4,278
George-Etienne-Cartier.....	S. W. Jacobs.....	*No endorsement.....	S. W. Jacobs.....	"	5,522
Hochelaga.....	J. E. LeSage.....	*No endorsement.....	J. E. LeSage.....	"	9,388
Hull.....	J. E. Fontaine.....		J. E. Fontaine.....	"	Accl.
Jacques-Cartier-D. A. Lafontaine-Aquila Jasmin.....	D. A. Lafontaine.....	Aquila Jasmin.....	D. A. Lafontaine...	"	2,311
Joliette.....	J. J. Denis.....	J. A. Dubé.....	J. J. Denis.....	"	337
Kamouraska-Ernest Lapointe-S. C. Rioux.....	Ernest Lapointe.....	S. C. Rioux.....	Ernest Lapointe...	"	3,262
Labelle-H. A. Fortier.....			H. A. Fortier.....	"	Accl.
Laprairie and Napierville-Roch Lanctôt.....	Roch Lanctôt.....	Mastai Pagnuelo.....	Roch Lanctôt....	"	3,252
L'Assomption-Montcalm.....	P. A. Séguin.....	J. B. T. Richard ..	P. A. Séguin.....	"	5,009
Laurier-Outremont.....	P. R. DuTremblay.....	Hon. P. E. Blondin.....	P. R. DuTremblay.	"	1,247
Laval-Two Mountains.....	J. A. C. Ethier.....		J. A. C. Ethier....	"	Accl.
Lévis.....	J. B. Bourassa.....	Alphonse Bernier.....	J. B. Bourassa....	"	4,190
L'Islet.....	J. F. Fafard.....		J. F. Fafard.....	"	Accl.
Lotbinière-Thos. Vien.....	M. J. E. Rousseau.....	Thos. Vien.....	"	3,732	
Maisonneuve-Hon. R. Lemieux-C. H. Cahan.....	C. H. Cahan.....	Hon. R. Lemieux.....	"	4,033	
Maskinongé-H. Mayrand.....	*No endorsement.....	H. Mayrand.....	"	2,502	
Matane-F. J. Pelletier.....	H. Boulay.....	F. J. Pelletier.....	"	4,563	
Mégantic-L. T. Pacaud.....		L. T. Pacaud.....	"	Accl.	
Missisquoi-W. F. Kay.....	G. P. England.....	W. F. Kay.....	"	1,138	
Montmagny-A. M. Dechêne-George Blais.....	George Blais.....	A. M. Dechêne.....	"	1,051	
Nicolet-Arthur Trahan.....		Arthur Trahan.....	"	Accl.	
Pontiac-F. S. Cahill.....	*No endorsement.....	F. S. Cahill.....	"	3,937	
Portneuf-M. S. Delisle.....		M. S. Delisle.....	"	Accl.	
Quebec County-H. E. Lavigne-J. E. Blanchard.....	J. E. Blanchard.....	H. E. Lavigne.....	"	4,253	
Quebec East-Rt. Hon. Sir W. Omer Drouin.....	Rt. Hon. Sir W. Omer Drouin.....	Rt. Hon. Sir W.	"	6,395	
Quebec South-C. G. Power.....	James Scott.....	Capt. C. G. Power.	"	1,315	
Quebec West-George Parent.....	Henri Chasse.....	George Parent.....	"	5,932	

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Constituency	Opposition Candidate	Government Candidate	Member Elected	Politics	Majority
Richelieu.....	P. J. A. Cardin.....	E. A. D. Morgan ..	P. J. A. Cardin....	Opp.	2,521
Richmond and Wolfe.....	E. W. Tobin.....	M. G. Crombie....E. W. Tobin.....	"	1,448	
Rimouski.....	E. Danjou.....	E. Danjou.....	"	Accl.	
St. Anne.....	J. J. E. Guerin ...	Hon. C. J. Doherty Hon. C. J. Doherty	Govt.	3,930	
St. Antoine.....	W. J. Hushion	Sir H. B. Ames...Sir H. B. Ames....	"	3,114	
St. Denis.....	A. Verville.....	*No endorsement. A. Verville.....	Opp.	8,830	
St. Hyacinthe -					
Rouville.....	L. J. Gauthier.....	L. J. Gauthier.....	"	Accl.	
St. James.....	L. A. Lapointe.....	L. A. Lapointe....	"	Accl.	
St. Johns and Iberville.....	Jos. Demers.....	P. J. Dore.....	Jos. Demers.....	"	3,908
St. Lawrence -					
St. George....W. C. Munn.....	Hon. C. C. Ballantyne.....	Hon. C. C. Ballantyne.....	Govt.	3,403	
St. Mary.....H. Desaulniers.....		H. Desaulniers....	Opp	Accl.	
Shefford.....G. H. Boivin.....		G. H. Boivin.....	"	Accl.	
Sherbrooke.....F. N. McCrea.....	W. S. Davidson....	F. N. McCrea.....	"	742	
Stanstead.....W. K. Baldwin....	W. L. Shurteff....	W. K. Baldwin....	"	701	
Témiscouata....C. A. Gauvreau...	Luc LeBel.....	C. A. Gauvreau....	"	5,794	
Terrebonne....J. E. Prévost.....		J. E. Prévost.....	"	Accl.	
Three Rivers and St. Maurice..Hon. J. Bureau.....		Hon. J. Bureau....	"	Accl.	
Vaudreuil-					
Soulanges....Gustave Boyer....J. F. Bissonnette..Gustave Boyer....			"	3,667	
Westmount - St.					
Henri.....J. A. Leduc.....	Hon. J. P. A. Sévigny	J. A. Leduc.....	"	1,012	
Wright.....E. B. Devlin.....	Andrew Pritchard .	E. B. Devlin.....	"	1,542	
Yamaska.....Oscar Gladu.....	*No endorsement...	Oscar Gladu.....	"	2,689	

NOVA SCOTIA

Antigonish and Guysborough.J. H. Sinclair.....	W. A. Wells.....	J. H. Sinclair.....	Opp.	1,438
Cape Breton N.				
and Victoria..D. D. McKenzie...John McCormack .	D. D. McKenzie...	"	828	
Cape Breton S.				
and Richmond W. F. Carroll.....	J. C. Douglas.....	J. C. Douglas.....	Govt.	1,383
	G. W. Kyte.....	R. H. Butts.....	"	907
Colchester.....G. H. Vernon....	F. B. McCurdy....	F. B. McCurdy....	"	Accl.
Cumberland....H. J. Logan.....	Hon. E. N. Rhodes .	Hon. E. N. Rhodes.	"	1,196
Digby and An-				
napolis.....L. J. Lovitt.....	A. L. Davidson....	A. L. Davidson....	"	819
Halifax.....E. Blackadar	Hon. A. K. Maclean	Hon. A. K. Maclean	"	Accl.
	R. H. Eisnor.....	P. F. Martin.....	"	Accl.
Hants.....L. H. Martell.....	H. B. Tremain....	H. B. Tremain....	"	293
Inverness.....A. W. Chisholm...	Thos. Gallant.....	A. W. Chisholm...	Opp.	1,286
King's.....James Sealy.....	Rt. Hon. Sir R.	Rt. Hon. Sir R.		
	Borden.....	Borden.....	Govt.	1,417
Lunenburg.....Wm. Duff.....	J. W. Margeson...	Wm. Duff.....	Opp.	838
Pictou.....R. H. MacKay....	Alex. McGregor...	Alex. McGregor...	Govt.	757
Shelburne and Queen's.....	Hon. W. S. Fielding	Hon. W. S. Fielding	"	Accl.
Yarmouth and Clare.....	Hon. J. W. Commeau	E. K. Spinney....E. K. Spinney.....	"	1,016

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NEW BRUNSWICK

Constituency	Opposition Candidate	Government Candidate	Member Elected	Poll-tics	Ma-jority
Charlotte.....	W. F. Todd.....	T. A. Hart.....	T. A. Hart.....	Govt.	617
Gloucester.....	Onés. Turgeon.....	J. E. de Grace.....	Ones. Turgeon....	Opp.	Accl.
Kent.....	A. T. Leger.....	F. J. Robidoux.....	A. T. Leger.....	"	2,240
Northumberland	John Morrissey...	Wm. S. Loggie....	Wm. S. Loggie....	Govt.	1,047
Restigouche and Madawaska..	Pius Michaud.....	D. A. Stewart.....	Pius Michaud.....	Opp.	2,806
Royal	Fred. E. Sharp....	Gen. H. H. McLean	Gen. H. H. McLean	Govt.	3,125
St. John City and Counties of St. John	W. P. Broderick...	R. W. Wigmore...	R. W. Wigmore...	"	7,900
and Albert....	A. F. Emery.....	S. E. Elkin.....	S. E. Elkin.....	"	8,081
Victoria and Carleton.....	James E. Porter...	Hon. F. B. Carvell.	Hon. F. B. Carvell.	"	Accl.
Westmoreland..	A. B. Copp.....	O. B. Price*	A. B. Copp.....	Opp.	1,663
York-Sunbury..	N. W. Brown.....	Col. H. F. McLeod.	Col. H. F. McLeod.	Govt.	3,864

MANITOBA

Brandon.....	H. S. Paterson.....	Dr. H. P. Whidden.	Dr. H. P. Whidden.	Govt.	10,136
Dauphin.....		Robt. A. Cruise...	Robt. A. Cruise...	"	Accl.
Lisgar.....	E. W. Quinn.....	Ferris Bolton.....	Ferris Bolton.....	"	3,221
Macdonald.....	W. H. Walsh.....	R. C. Henders....	R. C. Henders....	Govt.	3,766
Marquette.....	F. C. Hamilton....	Hon. T. A. Crerar.	Hon. T. A. Crerar.	"	7,520
Neepawa.....	Alex. Dunlop.....	F. L. Davis.....	F. L. Davis.....	"	3,056
Nelson.....		J. A. Campbell....	J. A. Campbell....	"	Accl.
Portage la Prairie.....	F. Shirtliff.....	Hon. A. Meighen.	Hon. A. Meighen..	"	3,635
Provencher.....	J. P. Molloy.....	J. R. Johns.....	J. P. Molloy.....	Opp.	185
Selkirk.....	J. E. Adamson....	Thomas Hay.....	Thomas Hay.....	Govt.	2,815
Souris.....	T. H. Buck.....	A. E. Finley.....	A. E. Finley.....	"	Accl.
Springfield.....	G. J. Charette....	R. L. Richardson..	R. L. Richardson..	"	2,089
Winnipeg Cent.	R. S. Ward.....	Maj. G. W. Andrews.	Maj. G. W. Andrws.	"	20,930
Winnipeg North R. A. Rigg.....	R. M. Blake.....	R. M. Blake.....	R. M. Blake.....	"	6,184
Winnipeg South N. T. McMillan...	G. W. Allan.....	G. W. Allan.....	G. W. Allan.....	"	16,515

BRITISH COLUMBIA

Burrard.....	P. Donnelly.....	S. J. Crowe.....	S. J. Crowe.....	Govt.	7,859
Cariboo.....	R. F. Leighton....	F. J. Fulton.....	F. J. Fulton.....	"	3,206
Comox-Alberni	W. W. B. McInnes.	H. S. Clements....	H. S. Clements....	"	1,490
Kootenay East	R. E. Beattie....	Dr. S. Bonell....	Dr. S. Bonell....	"	1,849
Kootenay West	W. Maxwell.....	R. F. Green.....	R. F. Green.....	"	3,642
Nanaimo.....	H. A. Stewart.....	J. C. McIntosh....	J. C. McIntosh....	"	7,199
N. Westminster	R. C. McRae.....	W. G. McQuarrie..	W. G. McQuarrie..	"	4,498
Skeena	Alfred Stork.....	Col. C. W. Peck...	Col. C. W. Peck...	"	695
Vancouver Centre.....	W. W. B. McInnes.	H. H. Stevens.....	H. H. Stevens.....	"	8,179
Vancouver S.....	Chas. MacDonald	Maj. R. C. Cooper	Maj. R. C. Cooper	"	4,428
Victoria City....	S. Henderson.....	S. F. Tolmie.....	S. F. Tolmie.....	"	8,764
Westminster District.....	F. B. H. Ramsay...	F. B. Stacey.....	F. B. Stacey.....	"	2,282
Yale.....		Hon. M. Burrell...	Hon. M. Burrell...	"	Accl.

P. E. ISLAND

King's.....	J. J. Hughes.....	Jas. McIsaac.....	Jas. McIsaac.....	Govt.	52
Prince.....	Joseph Read.....	A. A. Lefurgey....	Joseph Read.....	Opp.	324
Queen's.....	A. B. Warburton..	D. Nicholson....	D. Nicholson....	Govt.	58
	J. E. Sinclair.....	Alex. Martin.....	J. E. Sinclair.....	Opp.	3

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SASKATCHEWAN

Constituency	Opposition Candidate	Government Candidate	Member Elected	Politics	Majority
Assiniboia.....	E. Waddington.....	J. G. Turriff.....	J. G. Turriff.....	Govt.	4,524
Battleford.....	W. G. A. Gourlay.....	H. O. Wright.....	H. O. Wright.....	"	3,711
Humboldt.....	J. L. Barry.....	Col. Norman Lang.....	Col. Norman Lang.....	"	2,174
Kindersley.....	J. T. Seward.....	E. T. Meyers.....	E. T. Meyers.....	"	5,560
Last Mountain.....		J. F. Johnston.....	J. F. Johnston.....	"	Accl.
Mackenzie.....	G. W. McPhee.....	{ *G. W. McPhee }	J. F. Reid.....	"	677
			J. F. Reid.....		
Maple Creek.....		J. A. Maharg.....	J. A. Maharg.....	"	Accl.
Moosejaw.....	James Somerville.....	Hon. J. A. Calder.....	Hon. J. A. Calder.....	"	5,920
N. Battleford.....	Chas. Comerford.....	C. E. Long.....	C. E. Long.....	"	1,898
Prince Albert.....	Sam. McLeod.....	Andrew Knox.....	Andrew Knox.....	"	3,590
Qu'Appelle.....		L. Thomson.....	L. Thomson.....	"	Accl.
Regina.....	A. McBeth.....	W. D. Cowan.....	W. D. Cowan.....	"	7,964
Saltcoats.....	John Rowan.....	Thos. MacNutt.....	Thos. MacNutt.....	"	2,963
Saskatoon.....	Jas. W. Casey.....	J. R. Wilson.....	J. R. Wilson.....	"	7,806
Swift Current.....	M. J. Reilly.....	Ira E. Argue.....	Ira E. Argue.....	"	3,772
Weyburn.....		R. F. Thompson.....	R. F. Thompson.....	"	Accl.

*Mr. McPhee had the distinction of being endorsed by both Leaders and defeated.

ALBERTA

Battle River.....	D. W. Warner.....	W. J. Blair.....	W. J. Blair.....	Govt.	1,538
Bow River.....	J. E. Gouge.....	H. H. Halladay.....	H. H. Halladay.....	"	761
Calgary East.....	Wm. Irvine.....	D. E. Redman.....	D. E. Redman.....	"	4,452
Calgary West.....	J. A. Irving.....	T. M. M. Tweedie.....	T. M. M. Tweedie.....	"	6,971
Edmonton East A. E. May.....	H. A. Mackie.....	H. A. Mackie.....	H. A. Mackie.....	"	2,653
Edmonton West Hon. F. Oliver.....	W. A. Griesbach.....	Gen. W. A. Griesbach.....	Gen. W. A. Griesbach.....	"	2,696
Lethbridge.....	L. L. Pack.....	W. A. Buchanan.....	W. A. Buchanan.....	"	2,834
Macleod.....	D. R. McIvor.....	H. M. Shaw.....	H. M. Shaw.....	"	2,518
Medicine Hat.....	C. B. Reilly.....	Hon. A. L. Sifton.....	Hon. A. L. Sifton.....	"	3,301
Red Deer.....	W. F. Puffer.....	Michael Clark.....	Michael Clark.....	"	2,413
Strathcona.....	A. T. Mode.....	J. McC. Douglas.....	J. McC. Douglas.....	"	2,599
Victoria.....	W. H. White.....	J. B. Holden.....	W. H. White.....	Opp.	254
Yukon.....	F. P. Congdon.....	Dr. A. Thompson.....	Dr. A. Thompson.....	Govt.	—

The distinctive features of the result were (1) the unanimity of the French-Canadians against Union Government and Conscription and in favour of Sir W. Laurier; (2) the pronounced sweep in Ontario where only 8 Opposition members were elected out of 82 with several of these threatened by the soldiers' vote when its count should be completed; (3) the great success of Unionism in the West and British Columbia where the Opposition won 3 seats out of 55; (4) the election of 14 soldiers returned from active service and the defeat by large majorities of all Labour or Socialist candidates except Mr. Verville of Montreal who was more Liberal than Labour in politics; (5) the immense size of the Unionist majorities in Canada generally and of the Laurier majorities in Quebec. As to comments Mr. Calder, who with Mr. Meighen, came out of the contest with much Western *prestige* expressed his delight in the result and the need for Government action "in a big, aggressive way" and Mr. Sifton declared that

*The words "no endorsement" under Quebec mean that one or more candidates of varied affiliation ran, but only received a few votes ; elsewhere the asterisk means that the candidates were of diverse political views in opposition to the Government nominee.

the result insured "future development of the West along non-partisan lines." Mr. Meighen described the Election as a national character test of the sternest kind: "Every appeal that could be addressed to the selfish, weak and the timid, every allurement that attended the prospect of immediate comfort, every temptation to seek individual advantage rather than to use the ballot as the citizen of a nation, was brought into play. . . . It was a call of duty to the absent; a call of honour from the State; and the conscience of the nation triumphed." Messrs. Doherty, Ballantyne and Ames, who were the only Unionists from Quebec Province, in interviews regretted the French-Canadian attitude while Sir Herbert Ames stated that this particular vote in St. Antoine, Montreal, had left him entirely.

The Toronto *Star*, in dealing with the Quebec situation, alleged the vital point to be that "we in Ontario and the West regard the War as a Canadian question, and Quebec does not." *L'Evenement* (Cons.) was explicit: "Province of Quebec, you have got what you wanted! Under a leader in whom you have for so long placed your confidence, and who has conducted you into so dangerous a position by placing you in opposition to almost all the rest of the Confederation, you are now really isolated and alone in your corner, unable to do anything either for yourself or for anyone else." *Le Soleil* claimed a Laurier popular majority in Quebec of 200,000 and declared that fanaticism and race cries had defeated the Leader but that in any case he would have more followers in the next House than in the 1911-17 Parliament; Arthur Sauvé, Conservative leader in the Quebec Legislature, thought the result a triumph for Bourassa and his ideas in Quebec; *La Presse* declared Quebec to be true to its National obligations and urged a revival of the *Bonne Entente*; *Le Canada* declared the result due to "an electorate which was led to believe that Conscription was directed against French-Canadians alone, and that it was a punishment we deserved"; the Halifax *Acadian* described it as due to the anti-Quebec cry while the Montreal *Herald* urged a new invitation to Laurier to enter the Cabinet —a proposal strongly criticized in part of the Ontario and Western press; the *Grain Growers' Guide* was delighted over the election of six leaders in the Western farmers' movement. Henri Bourassa in *Le Devoir* described the result as a victory for Independence: "The French-Canadians resisted *en masse* because they are *en masse* and by instinct Nationalist. After the War parties will be broken up again. The alignment will be on two principal questions—the settlement of our accounts with England and the readjustment of our economic equilibrium. . . . In the conflict between

Imperialism and Nationalism the place of the French-Canadians is established." As to Party totals—important to politicians when the War should end and new adjustments be possible—the Conservatives elected numbered 115, the Laurier Liberals 82, the Union Liberals 38. The result by Provinces and in detail was as follows:

Province	Liberals	Union	Conserv- atives	Govt.	Opp.	Govt.	Opp.
				Civilian Vote	Civilian Vote	Soldiers' Vote	Soldiers' Vote
P.E. Island.....	2	0	2	10,450	12,224	2,775	434
Nova Scotia.....	4	3	9	40,985	49,831	10,699	1,474
New Brunswick....	4	4	3	35,871	32,397	9,934	919
Quebec.....	62	1	2	61,808	240,504	14,206	2,927
Ontario.....	8	12	62	419,928	263,300	95,212	5,793
Manitoba.....	1	6	8	83,469	26,073	23,698	1,157
Saskatchewan....	0	7	9	68,424	30,829	12,996	2,672
Alberta.....	1	4	7	60,399	48,865	19,575	1,055
British Columbia...	0	1	12	59,944	40,050	26,461	2,059
Yukon.....	0	0	1	666	776	293	32
Total.....	82	38	115	841,944	744,849	215,849	18,522

The total Government vote of all kinds, according to the Report of W. F. O'Connor, General Returning Officer, was 1,057,793 and the total for the Opposition 763,371. Of the Soldiers' vote 37,386 was polled in North America, 112,095 in France and 84,890 in England—a total of 234,371 including, apparently, those taken at sea and in Italy. Three Ontario Liberal members who voted Conscription, but were not endorsed by the Government, held their seats—Duncan Ross in W. Middlesex, R. E. Truax in S. Bruce and A. B. McCoig in Kent. Sir W. Laurier was defeated in Ottawa and W. M. German in Welland by a Conservative, though he had supported Conscription; Hon. Frank Cochrane, though fighting in Timiskaming a combined French and Labour opposition, was elected. The highest majority was that of Major G. W. Andrews, d.s.o., in Centre Winnipeg (20,930); next to him was Sir G. E. Foster, 18,237, in North Toronto; G. W. Allan, k.c., had 16,515 in Winnipeg South and W. F. Maclean came next in South York with 14,023; Edouard Savard in Chicoutimi had 10,031, and the Rev. Dr. H. P. Whidden in Brandon 10,136. All were Unionists except Mr. Savard. On Dec. 13 Sir Robert Borden issued a statement declaring that:

It was not a partisan victory in any sense. The splendid elements of the Liberal party who worked so strenuously and with such magnificent results in every Province except one are to be congratulated equally with the Conservatives. Equally fine was the spirit of the Conservatives who, regardless of party affiliations, supported and elected Union-Liberal candidates in many ridings. It was a notable test of democracy. The Canadian people, after more than three years of heroic devotion and untold sacrifice, were called upon to say whether Canada's effort in the War should be maintained. In the midst of the campaign the test of compulsory military service had to be applied. No more severe trial of the self-endurance of a democracy was ever made.

